

The South Atlantic Quarterly

**Editorial Board: William H. Wannamaker, William T. Laprade,
Newman I. White, and Calvin B. Hoover**

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The South Atlantic Quarterly

Vol. XXXVI

JANUARY, 1937

Number 1

LEADERSHIP IN THE HOUSE

FLOYD M. RIDDICK

FEW elections in the history of our country have elicited as much emotion and strife as the recent one, which was filled with chaos and confusion and which was not permitted to emerge far above the level of political dogma. In all the propaganda, as much as there was of it, seldom was there any mention of candidates other than the two presidential candidates, notwithstanding the fact that there were some 435 Representatives and 35 Senators up for election. True enough, the President does play an important part in this government, but Congress plays just as important a rôle. Seemingly, more national emphasis should be placed on the election of Congressmen. Congress will determine the policy of the United States Government during the next four years, subject to the will of the asserting public, and not the President. The President may request, beg, and insist persistently on the enactment of certain policies, but the ultimate determination of any policy is lodged with Congress.

In the Seventy-fourth Congress the Senate was composed of 69 Democrats, 23 Republicans, and 6 others. The House was composed of 318 Democrats, 104 Republicans, and 13 others. In the incoming Congress, the Seventy-fifth Congress, the Senate will be composed of 75 Democrats, 17 Republicans, and 4 others. The House will be composed of 334 Democrats, 89 Republicans, and 12 others. The leadership will be identical with that of the Seventy-fourth Congress with the exception of the late Speaker Byrns. Consequently, the congressional picture has changed practically not at all, particularly if one admits the system of legislative procedure in the United States. Acknowledging a division of Democrats and Repub-

licans in the Seventy-fifth Congress almost the same as that of the Seventy-fourth Congress and an identical leadership in both cases, are not the citizens to expect a procedure identical in each instance?

It is not necessary that the procedure of the incoming Congress be identical with that of the Seventy-fourth, since Congress will always respond to a sufficient popular demand. But if it is to be different, or if the people expect their will to be expressed by this new "one-sided" Congress, they must assert themselves and not let a few leaders run Congress.

If the people fail in their duty by neglecting to watch and to assert their desires to Congress one can already, with a knowledge of the past Congress, predict what the enactments of the Seventy-fifth Congress will be. The recent session of the second "Roosevelt House of Representatives" was absolutely dominated and directed by a small number of long-service Democrats. This assembly was convened on January 3, 1936, by the late Speaker Byrns and was adjourned on June 20 by Speaker Bankhead. A few hours after Mr. Byrns called the House to order, the President himself stood on the same rostrum and delivered his annual message to Congress at a night joint-session on the state of the Union. This precedent invited many criticisms by members of the Republican party. Many Republicans anticipated the President's determination to dominate another session of the House. Representative Snell, the Republican floor leader, stated that President Roosevelt by using the night session to express his political views to the country had displayed how completely the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives is dominated by the President. Continuing, Mr. Snell stated that the President made all plans for the occasion, notified the newspaper reporters of the night session, arranged with the broadcasting companies for a national hook-up, and then informed the men in charge of the House procedure that he was going to address Congress in joint session on January 3 at 9:00 P.M. The Roosevelt administration, however, did not "dictate" to the past House membership as it did to the one of the Seventy-third Congress. No bill was drafted by the administration, labeled "must" legislation, and forwarded to the House. To be sure, the House membership mapped out and favored a program suitable to the Democratic party, of which President Roosevelt is the

head. But it must be admitted that a small group of Representatives, and not the President, directed the program for the House.

By and large the leaders experienced some rather stormy and hectic moments during the session, which was not sufficiently unique to command a very conspicuous and distinct place in the annals of American legislation. With the exception of appropriation measures there were very few important laws approved by the House. The scope of the work and the procedure contrived by the Representatives in charge, nevertheless, were sufficiently interesting to merit some brief observations.

The order in the House was bad at times. The conduct of the membership was as noisy and as boisterous as ever. The temper frequently reached heated pitch with unusual shouting and fist shaking during debates. Members objected to requests of others without even knowing what the requests were. The Speaker was forced to remind the membership that "It is a violation of the rules of the House for a Member to interrupt another Member when he has the floor, without first addressing the Chair and obtaining the consent of the Member having the floor before he interrupts." The leaders, nevertheless, were able to keep the program moving on.

The House was in session 116 days, during which time it approved 1,049 measures, more than 700 of which finally became law. The President vetoed more bills than usual; however, the bonus bill was passed over his veto. These bills approved by the House were of wide scope and necessarily required much time and work on the part of the members to be placed in proper condition for enactment. Roll calls were demanded 136 times, of which 77 were record votes on various bills and questions. Seven members, including the late Speaker Byrns, died—this being the first time that the Speaker has died during a session of Congress. Several investigations of nationwide concern were made, including the investigation of the Townsend Plan. Contested election cases were disposed of. Judge Ritter, a Federal District Judge of Florida, was impeached—a rare occurrence. Dr. Townsend was cited to be prosecuted for contempt of the House. Many political and personal combats were staged during the session on and off the floor of the House. The conduct of individual mem-

bers, such as that of the late Representative Zioncheck, caused the "leadership" no little trouble.

The work accomplished in the name of the House of Representatives was actually dictated by a very small group of old-time capable members. Less than thirty members really "ran the show." One must add, however, that it is no exaggeration to state that, of the 435 Representatives of the House, only twenty-five to fifty members ever had any real influence on legislation. Some of the more capable and outstanding Representatives of the past Congress were: the late Speaker Byrns, Representatives Bankhead, O'Connor, Snell, Boland, Buchanan, Doughton, Vinson, Woodrum, Rayburn, Jones, Patman, Taber, and Mead.

The men at the most strategic positions were fairly well fitted for their posts. Speaker Byrns, "fearless, incorruptible, unselfish, with a high sense of justice, wise in counsel, broad of vision, calm in adversity and modest in victory," was an impartial presiding officer. Affable, easy-going, and of a likeable character, he was known to all the membership as "Joe." Mr. Byrns apparently knew parliamentary law better than any of the other recent Speakers, and he interpreted this law in the light of the oath he took when he became Speaker: "I subscribe to the policies, platform, and principles of my party; I shall endeavor, so far as I properly can, to assist in the enactment of legislation in accordance with those principles and policies." The Speaker was an arduous and untiring worker. He had served his party as floor leader prior to becoming Speaker. He continued to perform some of these duties during the first session he was Speaker, since the new floor leader, Mr. Bankhead, was ill during the entire session. Mr. Bankhead was present for the second session to take over his duties as floor leader; consequently, the work of Speaker Byrns became more normal, but the customary scope of political activities of the Speaker was permanently enlarged under his incumbency.

Representative Bankhead, like Speaker Byrns, knows parliamentary law unusually well. His speeches are indeed forceful, and he proves himself an astute leader. Always on the alert, he is able to keep his support in line when precarious political situations arise.

Representative Snell, the minority floor leader, is keen for organ-

ization. Having been chairman of the Rules Committee, he knows parliamentary procedure, but he frequently displays temper on the floor of the House. His support was weak, less than 100 of the 435 members being Republicans. Also, the proposals of the New Deal were so popular that it was an impossible task for him to keep those few Republicans on the floor and in line to oppose the New Deal measures. Apparently Republicans tried to vote the way it would suit their constituencies, regardless of their political obligations.

Representative Woodrum of Virginia, chairman of the subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, demands the respect of all of his colleagues as a legislator. He is an able leader and an excellent presiding officer. He knows the rules of the House and he acts accordingly. He has put through some of the most difficult legislation for the administration. Briefly, he retains dignity and poise, demands respect, and discloses decided legislative ability.

Representative Doughton, chairman of the mighty Ways and Means Committee, the committee which wrote the new tax law; Representative O'Connor, chairman of the potent Rules Committee, the committee which was responsible for all the special rules; Representative Buchanan, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the committee which handled the appropriation measures before the past session of Congress; Representative Rayburn, former aspirant for the Speakership and the present chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee; Representative Patman, author of the Patman bonus bill; and Representative Vinson, chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs—these men took no little part in the enactment of legislation approved by the second session of the Seventy-fourth Congress.

The program of the past session emanating from the leaders was consistently supported by the mass of unimportant Democratic Representatives, largely due to the organization under the direction of the "Whip," Representative Patrick Boland. It is no little task to keep Democrats in line. They naturally have a tendency to be individualistic; and with such a huge Democratic majority as the past House had, the men in charge of the House machine found the unimportant Democratic Representatives unwieldy and undisciplined at times. Even among the leaders, the same Democrats who put through an administration measure on one day would be found on

the next day to lead the opposition on some other administration measure. Yet, irrespective of the Democratic individualism, when the leaders of the House united with the administration—which was the rule rather than the exception—to oppose a certain measure, that measure was doomed to defeat.

Representative Boland, the “Whip,” had fifteen assistant “Whips.” These assistants were appointed to integrate and supervise the Democratic members from a defined geographical section. With his organization the “Whip” was able to canvass his entire party within a short time. At the request of the men in charge of the House procedure, the “Whip” would obtain the opinion of the Democratic membership on a certain issue or pass out any orders submitted him by the leaders, in a very short time. The leaders spoke to the “Whip” as heads of their party, and the unimportant Democratic members received any messages from the “Whip” with careful consideration.

The following observations will illustrate how completely a few Representatives in the name of 435 determined how favorably and how expediently the House should respond to bills, how hurriedly the program should be enacted, and how liberally the rules should be made for the consideration of any measure. This consummate control of the program likewise killed any responsibility which the alleged unimportant Democratic members might have assumed.

The House convened, facing a disposition of the bonus issue. The American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Disabled Veterans had united to force action on some kind of bonus bill. The Patman bill had been before the House for several sessions and had chronological preference, but the administration and the leaders opposed this bill as a strictly inflationary measure. The bill was never considered, even though one leader, the chairman of the Rules Committee, was favorable to it. On the other hand, the leaders did give their support to the Vinson Bonus Bill, which became law over the President's veto. Representatives Byrns, Doughton, Vinson, and McCormack mapped out the program after conferring a long time, and on January 10, 1936, one week after Congress convened, the bill was approved by the House. The vote showed 356 (Democrats 275, Republicans 72, Progressives 6, Farm-Laborites 3) for the bill and 59 (Democrats 29, Republicans 30) against it.

A motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of a resolution granting the Patman Bonus bill a special hearing had been filed and signed by 218 members of the House before the Vinson Bill was passed. Under the Discharge Rule the resolution was not privileged to be called up until January 13. By that date the Vinson measure was passed, and the leaders had bargained with Mr. Patman to drop his bill. Accordingly, on January 13, Mr. Patman made a unanimous consent request to postpone calling up the resolution and thereby block any consideration of his own bill. When some nonconformist objected, Mr. Patman replied: "When this motion is voted on I expect then to make a motion to postpone it for two weeks: and I believe the gentleman will agree with me that the motion will carry or I will not make a motion for consideration and permit the bill to be referred to the calendar. In view of these facts, I think he should withdraw his objection and permit the request to be granted." As Mr. Patman threatened, the resolution was called up, and a motion to postpone for two weeks was adopted. After this, consequently, the Patman bill was dropped out of the picture and the Vinson Bill had the right of way. The Vinson Bill was passed by the Senate and was sent to the President. On January 24 the President's veto reached the House about 12:35 P.M. The veto message was called up without any delay, and by 12:48 P.M. the roll call had begun, a roll call which passed the bill over the veto by a vote of 325 (Democrats 248, Republicans 66, Progressive 7, Farm-Laborites 3) for the measure and 61 (Democrats 32, Republicans 29) against it. The five record votes taken on this bill did not disclose partisan voting.

The Frazier-Lemke farm mortgage bill was likewise opposed by both the President and the leaders of the House. The leaders first attempted to block the measure by not reporting it out of the committee. Finally, in 1935, the Agriculture Committee reported the bill and sent it to the Rules Committee for a special rule. Here the leaders further blocked the bill. Father Coughlin accused Chairman O'Connor of "pigeon-holing" the measure at that point. A motion to discharge the committee from further consideration of the measure was filed. When nearly 218 members had signed the petition, the number necessary to force a consideration of the measure, much

political pressure to oppose a hearing of the measure was brought to bear. Some of the members stated on the floor of the House that political pressure had forced certain Congressmen to retract their signatures from the petition. Others schemed to force a hearing of the bill. Two hundred and eighteen signatures were not necessary, one member said, under the Discharge Rule, since some of the members had died, and there were a few vacancies. The Speaker was finally forced to give a ruling on the matter. He said: "The distinguished gentleman seems to contend that there is required only a majority of the actual sitting Members at any particular moment: that if the authorized and apportioned membership of the House of 435 be reduced at any time by death, resignation, or other cause the number necessary is an actual majority of the remaining sitting Members. Precisely, the gentleman contends that because of six vacancies, by reason of three deaths and three resignations, the number of sitting Members is reduced to 429, of which 215 only is required instead of 218, a majority of 435, the authorized membership of the House. . . ." But the Speaker added: ". . . 218 Members was intended, and is necessary before a discharge petition is effective, and no less number will suffice, irrespective of temporary vacancies due to death, resignation, or other causes." Toward the latter part of the session, the petition was signed by 218 members, and a consideration of the bill was forced.

The bill was debated six hours under a special rule, but it was defeated. Yet many Representatives felt that more than one-half of the membership would have voted for the measure had there been no political pressure brought to bear upon the House.

During the session a strong minority wanted a hearing on the Townsend bill. Both the administration and leaders of the House were opposed to the measure. The measure was never given any consideration.

The leaders hurried their program through the House. The tax bill furnished a good example of the legislative speed. On April 22, 1936, seven weeks after the President sent his tax message to Congress, the Ways and Means Committee reported the tax bill, a bill of 236 pages, to the House. On April 23 debate in the House began, and the bill was passed by the House on April 29.

A comment by the floor leader, Mr. Bankhead, relative to the Private Calendar discloses how efficiently the House worked. He said: "Mr. Speaker, I think it rather worthy of comment that certainly for the first time within my recollection at this stage of the proceedings of the session of Congress consideration of bills on the Private Calendar has been concluded upon the calling of the calendar today. I think it worthy of notice and commendation of the services of the objectors on both sides and these associated with them that we have a 'clean' Private Calendar at this time."

A certain faction of the House membership tried to stage a filibuster against consideration of the District of Columbia Rent bill by continually demanding roll calls. The filibuster was soon stopped. The Rules Committee reported a special rule for the consideration of the bill which waived all points of order, closed general debate, barred the bill from being read under the five-minute rule, and allowed no debate on any amendment offered. The rule hastened the completion of the bill to its defeat.

On another occasion certain members were consistently demanding roll calls when the Private Calendar was under consideration. At this particular time the floor leader warned the membership as follows: "Of course, if a quorum does not remain present, roll calls will be necessary if a point of order is made. . . . I request the Members to stay. It may be a little inconvenient for some of you to stay away from your office, but I want you to remember that you, yourself, have had bills on this calendar that you were anxious to have disposed of. I think it is a fair request to ask the Members to remain here for the remainder of the session today in order to transact this public business."

Special rules, better known as gag rules, were utilized when it became necessary to overcome any obstruction. Most of the rules adopted were open rules. They were adopted merely to give a non-privileged bill a consideration. A few, as the one which gave the District of Columbia Rent bill special consideration, were closed. There were in all thirty-seven special rules adopted during the session, a number nearly as large as that of any prior session. Of this number, the measures considered under five special rules were defeated, and such action presents a peculiar situation. This was appar-

ently the greatest percentage ever defeated. Ordinarily, one expects any bill considered under a special rule to pass, since the leaders or the machine would not grant a special rule unless the bill is considered a favorable measure. Some of the bills considered under special rule during the past session, however, were not sponsored by the party, nor were the party leaders favorable to the measures. Some of the rules were granted with no intention other than giving the measure a hearing. In one instance a House bill considered under a special rule was lost, and a similar Senate bill likewise considered under a special rule was passed. Again there was an attempt to pass a bill under unanimous consent which failed, but later in the session the same bill was called up under a special rule and thereupon was passed.

On the last day of the past session a bill to provide for the administration and maintenance of the Blue Ridge Parkway, which appropriated approximately \$40,000,000, was called up under the suspension of the rules, and it was defeated. The same bill had been defeated on the Private Calendar prior to that date. The leaders, however, saw the bill through the House. On the last day, a few hours after the bill had been defeated under the suspension of the rules, the same measure was called up again, this time under a special rule reported by the Rules Committee. The bill was passed by a vote of 145 for the bill and 131 against it.

Some of the permanent rules of the House, in addition to the special rules, permit the leaders to take advantage of the membership by offering a bill under a defined procedure and demand that the bill be accepted in its entirety or defeated in its entirety. When a bill is called up under the suspension of the rules it falls under the above limitations. Under the suspension of the rules a bill may not be amended and it may be debated only forty minutes. Further, the members realize that when a bill is called up one time during a session it is not likely to be called up again. Therefore, believing it better to accept any kind of compromise rather than to get no legislation on the subject, the members reluctantly accept whatever is offered. This situation, obtaining when the Neutrality Bill was considered during the past session, can best be expressed in the words of Representative Monaghan: "However, the motion in this instance is to suspend the rules and pass the bill. If we could vote specifically

for bringing this bill up under an open rule or a closed rule, it would be different. But am I not right in assuming that a vote against this motion is, in effect, a vote against the neutrality bill that is now pending and might result in no neutrality legislation at all? A defeat for this bill at this time by merely a third of the Members voting against the motion to suspend would result in the defeat of neutrality legislation today, and through lapse or through neglect or through maneuvering or trickery no legislation looking to keeping us out of war might be placed upon the statute books. . . ."

Leaders assumed the entire responsibility for enacting the House program. Seemingly, other Representatives divorced every trace of responsibility. Members took such little interest in the legislation before the House that it forces a sad commentary on representative government. The Interior Department Appropriation Bill was debated during four different days and seldom could one find one hundred members in the House. Those who did attend and take part in the debates devoted most of their time to all subjects except the bill under consideration. The War Department Bill was the largest peace-time appropriation for the army in history. The bill carried \$572,446,844. It was debated off and on for five days in the presence of a very few Representatives. The bill was actually passed in the House in the presence of less than two hundred members. The conference report, which deserves just as much attention as the original bill, was adopted in the presence of 162 Representatives. Someone raised the question of no quorum, but before the Speaker could count the members present, signals had been passed out, and the attendance had swelled to a quorum. The vote on the Legislative Appropriation bill, which appropriated \$23,000,000, showed only fifty-five members present. One vote on the Anti-Lobbying Bill, which was considered under a special rule and was rather popular, disclosed only ninety-nine voting. The first attempt to pass the Commodity Credit Corporation Bill disclosed the presence of only sixty-five members. The bill on Interstate Transportation of Prison-Made Products was passed under the suspension of rules by a vote of fifty-eight yeas to twenty-eight noes. A vote on an amendment to the Navy Appropriation Bill, which appropriated \$531,068,707, showed

only fifty-six members present. Finally, the bill for the Prevention of Sales Discrimination was passed without a quorum present.

During the recent session one minor bill was approved by the House, and not one word of the entire debate referred to the measure under consideration. The entire time was devoted to discussing other subjects. The Interior Department Appropriation Bill was likewise considered. During the first three days, while the bill was under consideration, Mr. Taylor, the member in charge of the bill, said that thirty members on the Democratic side and about as many on the Republican side spoke during the time the bill was supposed to be under consideration, thirty-eight additional members were permitted the right to extend their remarks in the Records, "and out of them all only two men even briefly referred to the bill that is before the House." The lack of attention and attendance was the reason why one or two members were able to insert the so-called "Red-Rider" in the District Appropriation Bill.

How can the House of Representatives be considered representative when there are 435 members elected to represent 435 defined districts, and some amendments are disposed of by a recorded vote of only 27? This very situation is the reason why members in all recent Congresses cast votes without knowing for what they were voting. Although members seldom attend, they usually make an effort to cast their votes when a roll call is demanded. The bells ring, and members who do not even know what is the business before the House rush to the floor of the House to be greeted at the swinging doors by some faithful pair clerk—John Snyder served for the past House—who drones a monotonous instruction: "Democrats (or Republicans) voting Aye." Representative Colmer, of Mississippi, commenting on how he maneuvered things to the adoption of an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1937, which was opposed by the chairman of the sub-committee reporting the bill, said: "I was rather impressed when I first came to Congress a few years ago with the fact that every time I came in that door to answer a roll call there was a man standing there telling me to vote with the committee, or telling me how to vote. I used to resent that. He always stands there and says 'The vote of the committee is yes (or the vote of the Committee is no),' so today, I just took the pre-

caution of going out there to the door in order to offset any committee action. . . . The man at the door, who usually says 'Vote with the committee' retreated after I got there."

By and large the past session was a regular session as far as procedure was concerned. Admittedly, few members shared in determining what the program should be, but one cannot emphasize too strongly that the unimportant Representatives seldom, if ever, exert any influence on what bills are to become law. It would certainly be amazing to the average voter if he or she could only know what influence, if any, his or her Congressman exerted on legislation during this past session, or any other recent session, of Congress. The past House of Representatives was actually controlled and directed by some twenty-five or thirty Representatives. This group of leaders mapped out the program for the session, favored by the Roosevelt administration, and then they set to work to its enactment. Particular bills were selected, time for debate was regulated, special rules were resorted to when needed, members were warned against any kind of obstruction, and the program was rushed to enactment by the floor managers with a minimum of consideration for the House membership.

DE TOCQUEVILLE'S APPRAISAL OF DEMOCRACY—THEN AND NOW

HAROLD W. STOKE

EXACTLY a century ago, Gosselin, the Paris publisher, brought out a trial edition of the most profound work on democracy which, up to that time, had been written. The publisher was skeptical about the venture, but a few weeks after the book appeared he greeted the author with open delight: the first printing was already exhausted and Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* had become one of the most talked about books in Europe. Reviewers wrote about its literary verve, its learning and insight, and ranked its young author next to the immortal Montesquieu himself. The French Academy promptly voted the work a prize of six thousand francs and, in 1841, elected the author to membership in its own distinguished ranks.

Among the intellectuals of that day democracy appeared to some as a lovely dream; to others, a promise of anarchy and ruin. De Tocqueville, in a single treatise, took democracy out of the realm of enigma and speculation and presented it simply as a fact. His aim, in his own words, was to portray the "very image of democracy itself, with its inclinations, its character, its prejudices and its passions." A portrait of democracy in 1835 was necessarily a youthful one, but so skillfully was it drawn that it foreshadowed clearly the qualities of form and character which maturity has brought. De Tocqueville has long ago gone out of fashion, but no one has ever probed more deeply the inner nature of American society. The contemporary student of democracy will find many of De Tocqueville's comments as applicable to the recent leveling movements which would "Share-the-Wealth" and "Make-Every-Man-a-King" as they were to the question of slavery in 1835.

De Tocqueville's visit to the United States would today be classed as a junketing expedition and would no doubt merit a senatorial in-

vestigation. The young Frenchman had come to the conclusion that democracy was the inevitable political development of the nineteenth century. He believed that, like it or not, the nations of Europe could not escape its influence. Consequently, he determined to find out for himself what a democratic régime had to offer to his beloved France and to the cause of liberty. He must visit America where democracy was more nearly a fact than in any other country. But how could a young magistrate afford such a trip or leave his profession for so long a time without irreparable loss to his career? The answer was a commission from the Minister of the Interior authorizing De Tocqueville and his young friend, Gustave de Beaumont, to study the penitentiary system of the United States for any suggestions which might be applicable to French prisons.

When Alexis de Tocqueville landed at Newport, Rhode Island, May 10, 1831, he was only twenty-six years old. He was small and rather frail in appearance, but full of nervous energy and eagerness. He was always alert and restless. His was a great earnestness—the earnestness of the seeker after truth who is pressed for time. "If I were to classify the great ills of humanity," he wrote, "I would say first, Death; second, Disease; third, Doubt." Intellectually, two powerful influences had gone into the making of De Tocqueville. The one was the memory of an aristocratic ancestry whose fate at the time of the French Revolution gave him every reason to despise popular political movements. The other was his contact with the visionless and reactionary monarchies which had followed the downfall of Napoleon. The *ancien régime* he knew had been justifiably destroyed, but it had not been succeeded by a truly liberal government. It was the hope of finding freedom that drove De Tocqueville to America. He sought "the pleasure of being able to speak, to act, to breathe, without restriction, under the sole government of God, and the laws." Some day, he was sure, such a condition would exist in France.

Few traveling fellows can hope to compare the activities of their year abroad with that which De Tocqueville spent in America. First, there was the problem of the language. "We thought we knew English," he wrote to his mother, "as boys think they know everything when they leave college, but we were not long in being unde-

ceived. . . . Yet we make ourselves understood and we understand everything." Then the survey of the prisons had to be made; nor was it slighted. The prisons in Sing Sing, Auburn, Wethersfield, and Philadelphia were visited and in one of them De Tocqueville spent fifteen days in a cell in order to learn at firsthand the mental and moral effects of solitary confinement. His report to the French government, written in collaboration with De Beaumont, was translated into English and German, and exercised some influence upon subsequent prison legislation.

With this task off his mind, De Tocqueville threw himself into the real enterprise which had brought him to America. His methods were systematic. He proposed not only to ask for information; he intended to gather it for himself. He planned two separate and extensive trips—one to give him an acquaintance with the North and West, the other with the South. He was as anxious as an explorer to reach the "outermost edge of European civilization" and to visit the Indians in their native villages. He set out early in July, 1831, from New York, bent on reaching Buffalo by way of Albany and the Mohawk Valley. Utica, Syracuse, and Canandaigua are mentioned in his notes and letters. From Buffalo he went by lake steamer to Detroit, but he was not satisfied that he had reached the absolute edge of civilization until he had sailed on through Lakes Huron and Michigan to Mackinac and Green Bay, Wisconsin. Returning to Detroit, he promptly set out for Montreal and Quebec, where he studied the continuation of French influence. Boston was his next objective, where he remained for several weeks. Then, following a short stay at Hartford, he returned to New York in October, 1831, after almost four months of strenuous and continuous traveling.

A few days later De Tocqueville and his friend were off again, this time to survey the South as thoroughly as they had the North. From Philadelphia they set out for Pittsburgh, where they took a river steamer for Cincinnati. Here began the most uncomfortable experiences of the stay in America. An early winter froze the Ohio and the little steamer was wrecked in the battle with the ice. The travelers walked twenty-five miles to Louisville and two days later started for Nashville by stage. The exposure, strain, and poor diet taxed De Tocqueville's strength to the limit. He wrote to his sister-

in-law after the trip from New Orleans to Norfolk: "If ever I write a book on medicine it will not be like those that are published every day. I shall maintain and prove that one must first of all eat corn and ham, dine little, much or not at all according to circumstances, make one's bed on the floor and sleep in one's clothing, pass in a week from ice to heat and from heat to ice, push on the wheel or wake up in the ditch—above all, never think; that is the capital point." A long stay at Washington climaxed the southern tour and proved an excellent place for piecing together and verifying numberless facts and impressions.

There is no doubt but that De Tocqueville was fascinated by the America he found. It was huge and puzzling; sometimes it attracted, sometimes it repelled. He soon decided that democracy here was a collection of contradictions. There was liberty, but it was continually threatened by the tyranny of the majority. There was intelligence and an unusual diffusion of education, but there was also dangerous standardization of opinion. There was deference for authority and respect for personal rights, but they were constantly opposed by a spirit of irresponsibility. Equality in civil and political affairs had very definite advantages, but these had to be weighed constantly against clear disadvantages. Yet among all the factors which made American society what it was, and what it still remains, there were two which De Tocqueville believed were more significant than any others. These were the widespread beliefs in equality and in the right of the majority to rule.

Equality, he saw, if not the source, was at least a powerful molder of every phase of American social and political life. He wrote in his notebook, September 17, 1831: "An incredible equality reigns in America on the outside. All Classes meet continually and no haughtiness at all results from the differences in social position. Everyone shakes hands. At Canandaigua I saw a District Attorney give his hand to a prisoner." This equalitarianism, he believed, had two causes. The one was a psychological quality of the people who had settled the country. They had all originated from approximately the same social stratum. They had brought with them no consciousness of class distinctions, and their new conditions of life certainly did not encourage the development of such distinctions. The other cause

was economic. "Equality of condition" was the indispensable basis of social and political equality, and when the one disappeared the others could scarcely survive.

The student of recent American society will find De Tocqueville's thoughtful analysis of the economic basis of democracy enlightening and disturbing. "Equality of condition" was characteristic of America in 1835, but De Tocqueville saw that the forces which were to destroy it had already begun to appear. The economic law of diminishing costs through a division of labor and the enlargement of capital enterprises was bound to lead to concentration of wealth, and to the creation of a capitalist class on the one hand and a working class on the other. A modern radical could describe the results of this evolution no more vividly than did De Tocqueville. The older aristocracy, he said, felt some degree of responsibility for its serving-men, "but the manufacturing aristocracy of our age first impoverishes and debases the men who serve it, and then abandons them to be supported by the charity of the public." Such an aristocracy of wealth was one of the harshest which could exist, and the friends of democracy were warned to keep their eyes upon such economic developments, for "if ever a permanent inequality of conditions and aristocracy again penetrate into the world, it may be predicted that this is the gate by which it will enter."

These economic as well as political threats to equalitarianism should, if possible, be zealously warded off; for, alien as it was to his personal tastes, De Tocqueville admitted that a condition of equality has advantages worth preserving. It produces in all classes a spirit of independence and a sense of personal worth. It gives men dignity and importance. It breaks down unnatural barriers to talent and prevents the growth of special privilege. "A state of equality," he said, "is perhaps less elevated, but it is more just, and its justice constitutes its greatness and beauty." But De Tocqueville, almost alone among writers on democracy, saw that an insistence upon equalitarianism can, at the same time, lead to disaster and is bound to do so unless special safeguards are set up. And it is in this warning to later generations of the dangers inherent in the idea of equality in social and political life that De Tocqueville at once ex-

hibited his greatest intuition and performed his greatest service to future democrats.

The obvious danger from extreme equalitarianism is, of course, that individualism and personal independence may become so rampant that a species of anarchy results. But that is not the greatest danger. A possibility that is far more likely and far more subtle is that equality will lead to servitude. This paradox comes about because, in an equalitarian society, no one individual counts for very much—for no more, in fact, than any other individual in a population which numbers millions. Each feels the helplessness of trying single-handed to assert himself in anyway against a society composed of a mass of individuals all equal to himself. "This naturally gives the men of democratic periods a lofty opinion of the privileges of society, and a very humble notion of the rights of individuals. They are ready to admit that the rights of the former are everything and those of the latter nothing. They are ready to acknowledge that the power which represents the community has far more information and wisdom than any of the members of that community, and that it is the duty, as well as the right, of that power, to guide as well as to govern each private citizen." As the individual loses his power to preserve his own liberty he merges himself with those similar to himself and becomes satisfied with the liberty accorded his group. As a result, a despotic government can be established in a nation where a genuine equality prevails more easily than in any other.

Nor are the advantages of equality to individuals unqualifiedly good. It is true that equality opens to great numbers opportunities they would not otherwise have had, but it also exposes them to a paralyzing competition. "Where the laws of a country do not regulate and retard the advancement of men by positive enactment competition attains the same end." Where everyone may enter the race the chances that any one individual will win are greatly lowered, and the strain and struggle are intensified. Tired but rugged individualists may well ponder De Tocqueville's statement that "they strain their faculties to the utmost to achieve paltry results, and this cannot fail speedily to limit their range of view, and to circumscribe their powers. They might be much poorer and still be greater."

Now this analysis of equality has in it food for thought. It can-

not be denied that much social thinking today is in terms of masses and not of persons. A thousand social panaceas, including old-age pensions and the N.R.A., ignore individual differences and propose mass treatment of the problems to which they apply. A basic equalitarianism is being established by law, and the desire of the individual to differentiate himself and his activities from masses of other individuals is steadily declining. A willingness to accept the lot to be had in common with everyone else rather than to improve it by individual exertion is a spirit rapidly growing in America. Everyone senses the frustration which holds America, and especially young America, in its grip. Is it not partly traceable to an equalitarianism which will allow no one to assert a claim as to the special worth of his own personality and work?

On its political side the dangers arising from equality are even clearer. No one can deny that, necessary or not, the policies of the day tend, as De Tocqueville predicted, to exalt the "privileges of society" and to minimize individual liberty. In Germany, Italy, and Russia "equality of condition" is being created by leveling up or down. Yet in these nations the growth of equality among the great masses of population has been accompanied by an acceptance of political despotism which ignores any claim to individual rights or privileges.

These mass effects of equalitarianism are given force by the other principal characteristic of democracies, the belief in the right of majorities to rule. That right is based not only upon the force of superior numbers, but upon moral conviction as well. Where all the members of society are equal, a democracy must always act on the belief that there is more wisdom in a larger number than in a smaller number, else it will have abandoned its cardinal principle of equality. On the same principle the interests of the majority must always be preferred to the interests of the minority regardless of the nature of the interests involved. And it is the moral and patriotic duty of the minority to bow to superior numbers.

This omnipotence of the majority can be a fearful thing. Ordinarily it is exerted through the usual channels of law-making and law enforcement, but it can make itself felt through less formal means. It can stifle freedom of speech and opinion, not only by censorship

and suppression, but by ostracism and persecution. It warns those who oppose it that they do so at their peril. "You are free to think differently," says the majority, "and to retain your life, your property and all that you possess; but you are henceforth a stranger among your own people."

This dictatorship over the mind deters great and unusual men from entering public life in democracies. Sovereigns are always objects of truckling and flattery, but in democracies the temptation to minister to the passion of the sovereign majority is stronger than under other forms of government. The sycophants surrounding Louis XIV could flatter no more unctuously than the courtiers of the people. The temptation to curry favor with the many penetrates all classes, but men of intelligence and candor try to avoid situations in which they must abase themselves. They will not abandon their manly qualities and their independence to serve in silence a power whose acts they do not approve.

It is a detestable political maxim, said De Tocqueville, which holds that the people have a right to do everything. Yet how is the majority to be prevented from using its power arbitrarily? One cannot turn to public opinion, for that is itself the opinion of the majority; nor to the legislature, for it represents the majority; nor to the executive, for it is the tool of the popular will. Juries themselves become means for the majority to control the functions of the judiciary. There is warning in De Tocqueville's observation that "if ever the free institutions of America are destroyed that event may be attributed to the omnipotence of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minorities to desperation, and oblige them to have recourse to physical force."

There is but one hope for these people who fear the awful power of the majority. That hope is not the self-restraint of the majority nor the protection of legal limitations. It is simply the fact that the majority runs on a single track, it cannot occupy itself with very many things at any given time. However despotic it may be in one field, it cannot at the same time be despotic in all. It turns its attention to one idea at the expense of its attention to others. Sometimes it loses its interest the moment a measure is passed and forgets to insist upon its enforcement. Freedom would soon vanish altogether

if the interest and attention of majorities could simultaneously encompass all activities as effectively as they do a few at a time.

It is this fear of arbitrary authority which stamps De Tocqueville as a perpetual champion of liberalism. "Unlimited power," he wrote, "is a bad and dangerous thing. Human beings are not competent to exercise it with discretion." It makes little difference whether that unlimited power is vested in a king or a democracy. In either case, it must be so safeguarded that it can be but a means to an end—the end of creating the conditions best suited to the development of the human spirit. Thoughtful people must still echo the wish of De Tocqueville that democracies "would try a little more to make great men; that they would set less value on the work and more on the workman; that they would never forget that a nation cannot long remain strong when every man belonging to it is individually weak; and that no form or combination of social polity has yet been devised to make an energetic people out of a community of pusillanimous and enfeebled citizens."

CO-OPERATIVE CHECKS ON CAPITALISM

WILLIAM AND KATHRYN CORDELL

MANY observers, among them most notably George Soule, contend that movements originating in Europe take from fifteen years to a quarter of a century to cross the Atlantic and modify the significant currents of our national life. This dictum holds true especially with regard to purely cultural, literary, or artistic developments, but with regard to social and economic movements the time-lag from date of origin in Europe to widespread adoption in the United States is even greater, approximating from fifty years to a century. With regard to the Consumers' Co-operative movement, which began in England in 1844 with the Rochdale experiment, this country had by 1934, ninety years later, no developments in the field of sufficient importance to allow favorable comparison with similar movements in a dozen European countries.

In England, the birthplace of the principles of co-operation, the success of consumers' co-operatives has been effective in checking the excesses of the profit motive in its social applications, and has thus helped to implement the principle of democracy in the field of economics as well as in politics. It was in part because of the ready acceptance and effective application of the principles of co-operation by the English that Karl Marx himself was led to believe that if any people could ever achieve a state of socialism by gradual means and without the necessity of revolutionary violence, it would be the English. According to figures compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on the co-operative movement in forty-five countries, covering some 465,000 co-operative societies, there are seven million co-operators (twenty-eight million in England, Scotland and Wales) and ten thousand co-operative retail shops in England alone.

The individual retail stores in turn co-operate in the purchase, production, and distribution of goods through a central organization, popularly known as the C. W. S.—Co-operative Wholesale Society.

The English C. W. S. owns the largest bakery and manages the largest tea plantations in the world; it owns its own steamship lines and is the greatest single purchaser of Canadian wheat. Some 180,000 men are employed by the society, which does a wholesale and retail business of \$350,000,000 a year. For the whole of the British Isles the total volume of co-operative trade amounts to more than a billion dollars a year, and a total of 260,000 men find regular employment in production and distribution within the co-operative framework.

Among the continental nations which have benefited most from the widespread application of co-operative principles, Denmark and Sweden come first to mind. It may be said that Denmark is literally the country that co-operation built and now sustains. Indeed, Denmark is the *vaterland* of the advocates of co-operation as the Soviet Union is to the communist or Fascist Italy is to the capitalist. Recently, however, Sweden has enjoyed widespread publicity in this country as an example of "the middle way," which, on the one hand, steers clear from the unrestrained capitalism of pre-depression America and, on the other hand, from the dictatorial communism of Russia before the Stalin modifications effected through the five-year plans.

According to Marquis W. Childs, author of *Sweden: The Middle Way*, the Swedish co-operatives own and operate 10 per cent of all the industries in the country, these being for the most part engaged in the manufacture of goods for domestic consumption. About one-half of the wholesale and retail trade of the nation in food, shoes, clothing, and other commodities is carried on under the aegis of the powerful Swedish Co-operative Union (*Kooperativa Förbundet*, popularly called K. F.). Because of the activities of this national organization, it has become impossible to exploit the consumer to the limit of his capacity to pay, that is, to impose prices restricted only by "the economic law of how much the traffic can bear." For instance, some years ago the management of the Co-operative Union asked the trust which controlled the manufacture of electric light bulbs to reduce its exorbitant price of thirty-seven cents per bulb. The trust refused, whereupon the Co-operative Union decided to manufacture its own bulbs. By the time the co-operative factory was ready to operate, the trust had reduced its price from thirty-seven cents to twenty-two

cents per bulb. In like manner, by construction of hydroelectric power projects and apartment buildings, the Co-operative Union also forced down utility and rental rates.

The basic principles of a successful co-operative movement are by no means revolutionary in nature, or even at great variance with the essence of capitalism. Indeed, the profit motive is accepted as implicitly by the co-operative movement as by the most orthodox capitalist. The success of a co-operative is measured by the excess of gains over losses, as in an ordinary private business establishment. Despite the similarities evidenced by this mutual regard for profits, there are two important differences between the capitalistic and the co-operative systems: the method of profit division and the management of the business enterprises.

In corporate capitalism ("corpocracy" it has aptly been called) such as we have refined in this country, profits are distributed as dividends among the owners of the corporation's stock. In a business organized on co-operative principles stockholders receive none of the profits from transactions, getting only interest on their investment at a restricted rate, usually 5 per cent to 6 per cent. Furthermore, the owner of co-operative stock has no incentive to speculate on the possible future returns on his investment, as is the case with the owner of corporate stock. Indeed, the owner of co-operative stock is by charter regulation prohibited from speculation in the stock of the co-operative, which thus always remains at par value. The non-speculative nature of the capital stock of a co-operative is an effective device for preventing "inside" manipulation of finances, such as was practiced during the boom period in this country when corporations issued stocks and bonds in excess of reasonable capital needs, that is to say, when stocks were liberally "watered" for purely speculative purposes.

Co-operatives, however, do declare dividends, but these are patronage rather than stock dividends. Such dividends are, strictly speaking, merely corrections of cost prices, being in fact a return of the profits to patrons of the co-operative. The net earnings are divided among the patrons on the basis of the actual amount of purchases made by each individual. Let us take an example: The volume of business of a co-operative store is \$50,000 per year, and on this it

showed a net profit of, let us say, 6 per cent or \$3,000. Now, if John Doe has during the course of the year spent \$500 with the co-operative, he will receive as his share of the patronage dividends the proportion of five hundred to fifty thousand, or one per cent of \$3,000 or \$30. It should be said that these figures are oversimplified for purposes of illustration; in reality, the average co-operative profits run higher than 6 per cent, unless the members vote to withhold some of it as a reserve fund for expansion or for social and educational purposes.

With regard to management, the principles of co-operatives present an even wider variance from the practices of corporations. Despite the fact that stocks in corporations are widely distributed among individual owners in this country, which in theory is presumed to result in an effective democracy of management, in the majority of cases minority holders of stock often secure effective control of both the machinery and policies of their corporations. In fact, it is just this wide diffusion of stock ownership which permits organized minority groups to secure almost absolute domination of American corporate enterprises. The perpetual shift in ownership of stocks, encouraged by and reflected in the tremendous volume of speculation carried on day by day in the stock exchanges, has fostered the present divorce of corporate ownership from control.

In a co-operative enterprise, on the other hand, the management is democratic in the sense that no matter how much stock an individual member may possess, he has only one vote as to policies to be pursued by the co-operative. The management of a co-operative store is selected by a majority vote of stockholders in the organization. In regard to practical democracy, a co-operative meeting might be compared with the early town-hall meetings such as were held during the colonial period in this country. In the sense that a co-operative is locally managed by its sponsors (because ownership of co-operative stock is not motivated by the urge toward investment, but by a desire to assist in the realization of co-operative principles), the co-operative movement can avoid the evils attendant upon overconcentration in the control of corporate enterprises, and can effect a real decentralization of a nation's commercial and industrial life.

The principles of co-operation previously suggested—namely,

dividends on patronage rather than on stock, and local management by stockholders each with but a single vote irrespective of the amount of stock held—are the characteristic features of the most successful, widespread and permanent system of co-operation which has been formulated. This is the famous Rochdale method, devised in 1844 by a group of twenty-eight weavers in Toad Lane, Rochdale, England. The immediate cause of their organization was the desire to secure better quality goods at more reasonable prices; local merchants had practiced such deception as selling the weavers flour containing cement to weigh it down. Each of the members subscribed four cents per week from their wages for capital; when \$140 had been raised in this modest fashion, they opened a shop in an old warehouse and purchased \$70 worth of goods and groceries. Within a decade the enterprise had become so successful that the original "Equitable Pioneers' Co-operative Society" could establish its own spinning mill for the manufacture of its textile needs. The two engines of the spinning mill were named after the virtues necessary to the success of the enterprise, Co-operation and Perseverance.

Another democratic feature utilized by the Rochdale pioneers was the principle of voluntary and unlimited membership through stock subscription. This principle of voluntary membership has been described by James P. Warbasse, leader of the American co-operative movement: "A co-operative society is a voluntary association in which the people organize democratically to supply their needs through mutual action, in which the motive of production and distribution is service, not profit, and in which it is the aim that the performance of useful labor shall give access to the best rewards." The voluntary nature of membership is not only consistent with the basic principles of co-operation, but is also reinforced by the fact that a member may withdraw and have his original capital returned to him at any time (as is theoretically true of private corporate membership through stock ownership, but in practice is vitiated by the ups and downs inherent in stock manipulation).

Advocates of the co-operative movement always strenuously object to any attempt to delimit the movement to its basic preoccupation with profits. They insist that "co-operation is a way of life," that "it is the peaceful revolution in action." Anseele, leader of the move-

ment in Belgium, has said: "The co-operative store is a fortress to bombard the capitalist society with potatoes and loaves of bread." Another leader has written: "Co-operation is surely subversive enough for the violent revolutionary, orderly enough for the pacifist reformer."

From the standpoint of preserving the morale of its membership during periods of stress and strain, the accentuation of the social factors as against the profit motive is undoubtedly a more strategic method. Nevertheless, when considerations of the social aspects of co-operation are allowed to take precedence over the purely business side, inefficiency and in many cases complete failure is the inevitable result. On the other hand, if the profit motive is stressed to the exclusion of other features, there are real dangers that the co-operative venture will become more and more capitalistic in nature, until its original principles are obscured or conveniently forgotten.

In this country the desire for and emphasis on quick profits have in many cases defeated co-operative ventures from the outset. Indeed, the movement has suffered not alone from fraudulent entrepreneurs, who employed the principles of co-operation to mulct the people (and there has been much of this), but has also suffered much, perhaps most, from departures from the strict Rochdale principles, especially with regard to stock ownership. In many cases the co-operative has wrecked itself by paying dividends on stock rather than on patronage and by failing to restrict ownership of its stock. The inevitable result of such efforts has been to concentrate ownership and effective management into a few hands, so that eventually such organizations lost their co-operative nature and became private mediums for the reaping of profits.

Add to this American obsession for bigger profits the average American's predilection for bigness and his impatience with small beginnings and with enterprises that require time for growth, and it is apparent why the co-operative movement has not yet secured a foothold in this country comparable to those in European countries. Other reasons for the slow growth of co-operation here have been the mobility and rootlessness of the population due to the expansion of frontiers attendant upon the conquest of natural resources of a continental area; an inveterate rugged individualism due to the pos-

sibility of persons' rising from low to higher places in the economic and social scales; the heterogeneity of population due to unrestricted immigration policies; and finally, the self-sufficiency of the rural family, which was until comparatively recent years the preponderant factor in American economic life.

The great interest shown by the American public in the lecture tour during the first half of last year of Toyohiko Kagawa, leader of the co-operative movement in Japan, attests to the growing interest in the possibilities of co-operation. This interest arises from a belated recognition that the welfare of the consumer must in some manner be implemented with effective devices of defence. In modern industrial society the tendency is to overemphasize the processes of production itself to the exclusion of the ends of production—distribution and ultimate consumption. During a period of growth it was quite natural that the major stress should be on production, but when an industrial system reaches maturity, as exemplified in an abundance and even an overproduction of goods, the tendency to protect, subsidize, and in other ways favor the productive agencies ceases to be natural. And when this emphasis occurs during a period of depression, accompanied by poverty and human want, such insistence is indefensible on ethical or economic grounds.

It was largely because of this emphasis on production—an emphasis due to the fact that capital and labor, the efficient agents of production, are better organized than are consumers—that the New Deal was led to attempt through the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. to regulate production. The result was inevitable, namely, that the consumer remained the real forgotten man (as he has always been in our national economy) except insofar as expenditures for relief may be regarded as a modest recognition that the necessity for consumption is still operative in our economic system.

Pressed between the Scylla of Big Business on the one hand and the Charybdis of Labor's demands on the other, and pounded from above by the monetary and price-raising policies of the government, it is no wonder that American consumers have begun to show an interest in the possibilities of reducing the high cost of living through consumers' co-operatives. When it is recalled that the present ambiguous character of a consumer (who in the past has been a producer,

either entrepreneur or laborer, as well as a consumer) has become more clarified by the fact that unemployment has reduced some ten million laborers (with their families, an additional thirty million) to the status of consumers alone, ineffective because of lack of income, the need and demand for co-operation among this group appear more imperative than before. Moreover, the tremendous growth of chain stores in recent years represents a frontal attack on the ultimate position of the undefended consumer. The Congressional act sponsored by Senator Joseph T. Robinson providing for the control and regulation of chain stores can have but little effect on the monopolistic tendency in the retail and distributive field, which is now following in the path of production and service trusts. Past experience of governmental regulation of trusts shows it to be, on the whole, ineffective because of the fact that "corporation lawyers can always stay two jumps ahead of the law."

Obviously the consumer must do something to protect his interests, and it now begins to appear to him that the only effective method is that of using the same tactics employed by business and labor—organization. Uninterested in revolutionary methods looking toward the foundation of a state of communism, the average American consumer desires a practical method which leaves unchallenged the profit motive and present organization of society, but which will permit him to enjoy more goods at a lower cost than is now exacted of him. Hence his interest in co-operation is likely to increase directly with an increase in prices, and inversely from a decrease in his own income.

Until recent years the co-operative movement in this country has enjoyed more success in the organization of producers' co-operatives, such as dairies and granaries with marketing co-operatives, than in the formation of consumers' co-operatives, best exemplified by retail stores. However, since the onset of the depression the growth of consumers' co-operatives in this country has been very rapid. In 1935, for instance, the volume of trade done by American retail co-operatives increased 50 per cent over that of 1934. The most successful examples of co-operation within the nation have been accomplished in Wisconsin and the Dakotas. Growing interest in the movement is further attested by the fact that Edward A. Filene,

Boston merchant and philanthropist, recently set aside \$1,000,000 for the promotion of co-operative organizations in this country.

Outside of some financial assistance to various agricultural producers' co-operatives, the Federal Government has done little to encourage the growth of the co-operative movement. Under the revised Farm Credit Administration Act it was empowered to lend money through so-called Co-operative Banks to such agricultural organizations. Although this assistance has been invaluable to organizations already established, it has been of little significance in the foundation of new co-operative ventures, especially those among consumers.

A unique and possibly significant experiment is being tried by the state government of Utah, which, under an act passed by its legislature in 1935, has set up and begun operation of a system of self-help co-operatives for the aid of the unemployed, based upon production for use. During May and June of last year forty such co-operatives, including four thousand families (some twenty thousand persons) on relief, were organized. The enabling measure provided that the co-operatives should be non-stock, non-profit enterprises and should be confined to the production and consumption of goods by the members and to barter with other and similar societies. Because of the non-competitive nature of these co-operatives, private business men did not oppose enactment of the measure, which was passed by unanimous vote. No limitations were placed on either the quantity or variety of goods which a co-operative might produce. Nevertheless, initial production has been largely agricultural. Among the activities carried on by the members have been the canning of vegetables and fruit in modern community canneries, home-building, the storage and preservation of goods, the making of clothing for members, the operation of sawmills, gristmills and coal mines, bartering and bulk-buying.

Initial appropriations for financing these co-operative enterprises were made by the Utah legislature. Methods were also provided whereby the enterprises might secure additional funds from the State. Federal aid from the various alphabetical relief agencies has been used to the fullest extent in the purchase of tools, machinery and seed and in the payment of building and land rentals. The

results of these co-operatives so far have demonstrated their worth as a method of reducing the costs of relief for the unemployed.

The biggest item in saving comes, of course, from the economies effected through bulk buying, which are passed on to the members through directly reduced costs, as distinguished from the usual co-operative practice of returns through patronage dividends. If the Federal Government should return to the direct dole (as indications suggest that it may) in the administration of relief, some such organization of the relief victims into self-help co-operatives would be valuable in the reduction of costs per family, as well as in the reduction of present excessive administration costs.

These co-operators among the unemployed would better their positions as consumers, and would thus help to correct some of the deficiencies and failures of the present system. However, such assistance to the unemployed would by no means serve as a check on the tendencies of the present system toward concentration and monopoly, which will continue to be reflected by the power to restrict production and raise prices. If the co-operative movement succeeds in placing restraints on capitalism in this country, it will do so by means of widespread organization of *consumers who at present have incomes* into co-operatives based on the principles formulated by the Rochdale pioneers. The experience of European peoples in co-operation shows, in the final analysis, that it is not so much the industrialists who produce commodities, but the distributors or retailers, who quite often make more profit per unit than either the laborer or industrialist, who are most opposed to the principles and practices of co-operation. It was to this class of middlemen that Roger Babson recently directed his warning with regard to the co-operative movement in America: "We say, and say earnestly, that merchants who laugh off these consumers' crusades are sitting on dynamite."

THE DISPENSARY MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

D. J. WHITENER

ONE of the most interesting developments in liquor control was the dispensary movement. The dispensary, as adopted in North Carolina, was a modification of the state dispensary established in South Carolina. Introduced into South Carolina in 1893, the system of state monopoly of the sale of intoxicating liquors was largely an adaptation of the Gothenburg system in Europe, a system of private monopoly. The immediate cause for this action in South Carolina was the attempt of Governor Tillman to head off what appeared to be state prohibition. A state-wide election in 1892 gave a majority of about ten thousand for prohibition, out of a total vote of sixty-eight thousand. Tillman, recently elected governor on a reform ticket, was supported by many voters who were in favor of the old license system. Therefore, in order to please both the license advocates and the temperance voters, he proposed as a compromise a state monopoly for the sale of liquor in South Carolina, known as the dispensary.

Briefly, under the dispensary, no liquor could be sold in South Carolina except by the government. A state board of control, composed of five members elected by the legislature, had general supervision, appointed the central and county dispensary commissioners, clerks, and subordinate officials, and fixed their salaries. Thus a state-wide system was inaugurated.

The voters who had supported prohibition in the election of 1892 were not pleased with the substitute but were willing to give the dispensary a trial. For several years the system worked very well, displeasing particularly the former liquor dealers. However, by means of bribery and wholesale corruption, the liquor forces soon were able to make it odious to many people of the state, and when bribery and corruption were proved to be prevalent in high political places, the

legislature of 1906 abolished the state monopoly system but allowed any county to retain or establish its own dispensary.

Although North Carolina did not establish a *state* dispensary, the experiment of South Carolina was watched with a great deal of interest; consequently, during the first years of its operation the conviction became fixed gradually in the minds of many people that the dispensary would solve the liquor problem also in North Carolina. Thus, in several towns, followed by counties, movements were begun to establish *local* dispensaries under a state law. There was a fundamental difference between these movements in North Carolina and the movement in South Carolina. In the latter it was primarily a political movement; while in the former it was a moral movement.

The movement in North Carolina began during the middle nineties when the legislature of 1895 passed two acts regarding the new form of liquor control. One was a law establishing a dispensary in Waynesville, Haywood County, and the other was an act providing for an election in Hickory on the question of establishing a dispensary there. Although provided for, no election was held in Hickory; hence the Waynesville dispensary was established two years before any other in the state.

The Waynesville act provided that the mayor and board of aldermen should elect three citizens of the town to serve as a dispensary commission. This commission was authorized to establish a "dispensary for the sale of spirituous, vinous, and malt liquors" at a convenient place on Main Street. Immediate control was to be placed in a manager, elected by the commission and directly responsible to it. Further, it was to fix the price of liquor, to make all necessary rules and regulations, such as determining the amount of liquor to be sold to any one person, to sign all checks, and to have the liquors analyzed from time to time. In order to keep the dispensary out of municipal politics, the law made the members of the commission ineligible to hold any other office during their incumbency or one year thereafter. The manager was required to give a bond of not less than \$500 that he would operate the dispensary according to law, carry out all local regulations, and make monthly reports of the number and value of sales to the commission.

Some of the local regulations were written into the law. As

examples, liquor could not be dispensed of except in sealed packages of one-half pint or more, could not be drunk on the premises, could not be sold on Sunday or election days nor to persons reselling it. Loitering in or about the building was absolutely forbidden.

The necessary expenses for establishing the dispensary and purchasing supplies were to be paid out of the town treasury. At the end of each year the commission was to make a report to the mayor and town aldermen, showing the receipts and disbursements and the net profit made. The net profit, or that amount agreed upon each year by the mayor, clerk of the superior court, and chairman of the board of county commissioners of Haywood, was to be divided equally between the town of Waynesville and Haywood County. The former could use its share for general town expenses, but the latter was directed to put its share to the credit of the school fund.

Selling contrary to law was made a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of from \$50 to \$200, and imprisonment for not less than thirty days, at the discretion of the court. Wine makers were allowed to sell their product in quantities of not less than a quart, provided it was not drunk on the premises where sold.

The dispensary at Waynesville was opened under auspicious circumstances. The first day it sold \$35 worth of liquors. The general opinion, declared the *Wilmington Review*, was that the new system would be preferable to the régime having "so called prohibition with its drug stores and blind tigers. . . . There is no South Carolina business in this. The Commissioners are working solely for the safety and well being of their county and the town is not trying to set up a money making enterprise." People who were favorable to the experiment pointed out that a dispensary did not have the attractions of the saloon and would not, therefore, entice men to drink as readily. James P. Cook, editor of the *Concord Standard*, made a visit to Waynesville to see it in operation, and he described the inside thus: "There are no screens, no blinds, no curtains, no pole to lean on, no man with a towel in his hand. The stuff is arranged about the large room in kegs, barrels, flasks, and bottles. There is a vestibule made of a lattice work. Behind this no one goes but the manager."

Two years later the *Waynesville Courier*, in commenting on the

second annual report of the commission, said that the report was "eminently satisfactory" to those whose duty it was to approve the report. Sales for the year ending April 1, 1897, amounted to \$10,530.45, an increase of \$2,264.27 over the previous year, of which amount \$3,112.91 was profit.¹ While it was "sad to contemplate so much money being spent for liquors," remarked the *Waynesville Courier*, it concluded that the money should be paid into the dispensary rather than into saloons and blind tigers.

By 1897 the dispensary had become the leading issue for temperance reform in many towns. Consequently, when the legislature met, petitions from towns and counties were presented asking for their establishment and the abolition of the saloons. Typical of these general petitions was one submitted by the association of Baptist Young People's Union of North Carolina:

We, the Baptist young people of North Carolina, representing every county and section, do hereby most humbly and sincerely petition your honorable body, to use every lawful and reasonable means within your power to pass the bills now pending for the establishment of dispensaries in certain towns and counties in North Carolina, and to use every honorable means to suppress the traffic that is cursing our State, blighting her young manhood, weakening all her citizens, crippling her schools and impeding the progress and usefulness of every church and Christian enterprise in North Carolina.

While the legislature of 1897 was "distinctly a prohibition body," passing laws establishing dispensaries for Bladen, Cumberland, Union, and Haywood counties and for a number of towns, the liquor dealers were able to defeat similar bills for Wayne, Cleveland, and Vance counties and for four towns. In every instance, the bills were stoutly opposed by the united strength of the North Carolina Liquor Dealers' Association. In Vance County, the liquor men employed J. M. Moody, who had been instrumental in having a dispensary

¹ Summary of report:

Gross sales for year ending April 1, 1897.....	\$10,530.45
Paid for stock.....	5,651.95
Expense account.....	1,220.92
Paid town and county.....	1,956.47
Cash on hand.....	1,701.11
Stock on hand.....	1,301.81
Total profits for year.....	3,112.91

established in Waynesville two years before, to fight the bill for that county. The dispensary advocates did not depend entirely upon petitions to influence the legislature, as had been the custom in the past. At mass meetings, public spirited men were appointed, usually at their own expense, to go to Raleigh to urge their cause before the legislative committees.

The two most important contests over the establishment of dispensaries during the 1897 legislature were the Asheville and the Cumberland bills. The Asheville bill passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate when the judiciary committee amended it by providing that an election should be held, and only in Asheville.² The dispensary members of the Senate did not wish to agree to an election on the issue, and under no circumstances would they agree to vote unless Buncombe County, where prohibition sentiment was stronger than in the town, also was allowed to vote. They opposed, they said, an election on the issue because the liquor dealers would buy with money and liquor enough votes to win. Hence, in almost every instance the liquor dealers were favorable to elections, a procedure so despised during the local option contests of the former decade, while the dispensary and temperance workers were opposed to them.

The movement in Cumberland County was begun by Reverend A. J. McKelway, of the First Presbyterian Church in Fayetteville, and other ministers. They sent blank petitions to all the ministers and church officials in the county, and these, signed by over a thousand voters, were presented to the legislature in support of the Cumberland dispensary bill.

The liquor dealers and their friends misjudged the strength of the movement until, to their surprise, the bill was almost a law. Then, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, they attempted, by a clever maneuver, to divide the supporters of the dispensary by demanding

² *Journal of the Senate of North Carolina*, 1897, p. 669. *News and Observer*, March 4, 1897, an account of the fight in the committee, under title, "The Liquor Men Win": Rev. Hezekiah Gudger, and Mayor Cooke led the fight for saloons. The president of the Liquor Dealers' Association was present but did not speak. "Mr. Chandler, of Buncombe (the leader of the dispensary forces) said it was pretty hard for a plain citizen to appear before a committee in opposition to paid attorneys, president of the Liquor Dealers' Association, and the mayor of the city of Asheville, who had been here lobbying against the bill."

absolute prohibition for the county. Not only did the liquor dealers hope to divide the temperance forces into a dispensary wing and a straight-out prohibition wing, but they actually much preferred prohibition. If there was anything more despised and feared by the saloon keepers than a dispensary, it was another dispensary.

In the case of the Cumberland bill, the prohibitionists were warned that the demand of the liquor men was a trick to defeat any temperance reform; so they remained steadfast in their support of the bill. The prohibitionists agreed that the dispensary was a step toward prohibition or at least the lesser of two bad forms of control—dispensaries and saloons. Party politics did not openly have any bearing one way or the other on the question.

The passage of the Cumberland bill "caused great excitement" in Fayetteville. The *Fayetteville Observer* felt as if the "sudden revolution" would produce a bad effect on the social and economic life of the town, but trusted, as its advocates claimed, "that it will be all right in the end."

By the time of the meeting of the next legislature, 1899, the movement for dispensaries had become general. In answer to this demand, the legislature enacted laws establishing dispensaries in fourteen towns, with a proviso in two of them that elections should be held. In only one instance was the dispensary law repealed. The Bladen County act of the former session was repealed because, according to the representative, the people "were a unit for its repeal, liquor dealers, ministers, and moonshiners."

The Liquor Dealers' Association again vigorously opposed each of these bills in turn. In addition to the bills passed, a number of others were introduced to establish dispensaries or to repeal acts of the former session. The two most famous of these, the two that attracted state-wide interest, were the bills for a repeal of the Cumberland law, a movement of the liquor dealers, and for the establishment of a dispensary in Charlotte, a movement of the temperance forces of that city.

The bill for the repeal of the dispensary in Cumberland, accompanied with a petition⁸ signed by seven hundred people of the county,

⁸ D. T. Oates, a leader for the dispensary forces, charged that the liquor petition was signed by two hundred Negroes, and one hundred and fifty drunkards who could not get whiskey from the dispensary. When he appeared before the legislative

was introduced during the first few days of the session. The dispensary advocates, knowing of the movement by the liquor men to have the act of the former session repealed, were not idle. They immediately presented petitions signed by more than one thousand one hundred white men and sixty-eight white women, asking that the law be not repealed. In the meantime, after the House had refused to agree to another amendment providing that the law should be submitted to a vote of the people, another bill for the purpose of amending the Cumberland act had been introduced into the House and passed there without a roll call.⁴

The whiskey men, seeing the progress of the legislation and guessing that the legislature would defeat their bill, attempted to inject politics into the fight. They declared they had been given to understand by the Democratic party of the county during the last political campaign that if they would support that party and it carried the election, the dispensary law would be repealed because it was a Republican measure, having been passed while the party had control of the legislature. The editor of the *Fayetteville Observer*, who, quite clearly, sympathized with the liquor men, was instrumental in calling in Fayetteville a great mass meeting to consider the question.

The mass meeting of the citizens of Fayetteville, according to the editor of the *Fayetteville Observer*, attended by "most of the prominent business men of the city" and those "who only go to public meetings when the gravest of crises confront the people," violently opposed the action of the legislature in passing the amendment and in refusing to submit the issue to a vote of the people. In the resolutions adopted at the meeting, it was declared that representative government had never "received a worse blow," that the dispensary there

committee on the question, he reviewed the petition of the liquor dealers in the following manner, as reported: "He went over all the names, saying of them, 'he is a loafer'; 'he is a drunkard'; 'he is a good man'; 'he was a bar keeper'; 'I will pass over him if the other side will'; 'he is a minor' and the like."

The dispensary was a financial success in Fayetteville. During the year of its operation profits had been made amounting to \$10,500. Of this amount \$2,400 were paid to the county and \$2,400 to the city. Before the establishment of the dispensary, twelve saloons had paid only \$2,400 in all.

⁴*News and Observer*, Jan. 25, 1899, article on first page entitled "No Bar Rooms for Fayetteville. She will worry along with her dispensary. For it is working well. The 'antis' meet a Waterloo in the House. The popular racket fails."

was the work of Republicans and Populists; that the law should be repealed, and that the question should be submitted to the people for their approval or rejection.⁵

This effort of the liquor dealers to inject politics into the fight was interesting, but they completely overlooked or disregarded the fact that more Democrats voted for the law in the session of 1897 than did Republicans. Their charge regarding the local promises, manifestly untrue, showed the nature of the liquor issue in this and many other counties.⁶

The action of the mass meeting in Fayetteville reopened the Cumberland dispensary issue in the legislature, an issue that had already assumed state-wide interest because of its relative bearing on all similar projects. Before the Senate judiciary committee, both sides again appeared, the "antis" bearing the petitions signed by 1,100 people and the "pros," 1,687. Capt. J. W. McNeill vehemently denied the allegation of the liquor dealers that any official pledges had been made by the Democratic party or that such promises, either expressed or implied, had been made by any of the people responsible for the establishment of the dispensary. He further pointed out the inconsistency of the saloon advocates by showing that the last campaign had been fought on the issue of white supremacy, whereas now the same people were demanding an election in which the Negro vote would control. Consequently, good democratic doctrine of local government found that it could not look forward and backward at the same time, and thus the legislature refused to repeal the Cumberland Law.

The progress of the Cumberland contest encouraged the already moving dispensary advocates of Greensboro to send to Raleigh a delegation of some two hundred influential citizens, bearing a peti-

⁵ The editor of the *Fayetteville Observer* gives an interesting explanation of the previous apathy of the people when he says that it was on account of the disinclination of many people to appear on the side of the whiskey men. Then he naïvely lets the cat out of the bag by saying that when he pointed out that the fight was really to destroy the "Negro-fusion monopoly," and that the question "involved the very foundation of free government, the revolution began."

⁶ Nothing was said in the committee meeting by Robinson, Democrat of Forsyth, who originally introduced the amendment asking for an election on the question, about politics or any pledge given by the Democrats. Indeed, these phases were not mentioned until after the editor of the *Fayetteville Observer* had made a trip to Raleigh, seemingly in the interest of the liquor men, and his subsequent broadside denouncing the law.

tion signed by seventeen hundred people of Greensboro, to demand a dispensary for that town. Judge J. G. Bynum, employed as attorney, accompanied to discuss the legal side of the question. The liquor dealers sent Major Charles M. Stedman, R. R. King, and Judge J. C. McRae to represent them, carrying a petition given them by the saloon keepers.⁷

This popular uprising gave the representatives from Guilford no little worry. Finally, they decided to attempt to obtain a true expression of a majority of the white people of Greensboro, and to be guided by the results of an informal election, with only the white people participating, on the question of establishing a dispensary for Greensboro. The election was subsequently held, but the liquor dealers and their friends refused to participate and the dispensary won almost unanimously, 531 for and only 2 against.

The saloon forces then appeared before the legislature with a petition signed by 2,680 white voters of Guilford, asking that the question be submitted to a vote of the white voters of the county and not just in the town of Greensboro. The liquor men thought they could defeat the dispensary by voting the large number of white people in the rural districts who were no more favorable to the dispensary than to the saloons and who would probably vote against this "compromise." The legislature, however, accepted the results of the informal election and passed the bill for a dispensary in Greensboro, after defeating an amendment providing for an election in the county.

The most spectacular fight regarding a dispensary bill in the legislature of 1899 was over the one proposed for Charlotte, the largest town in the state. Late in January three preachers and two laymen met in conference and arranged to send out circulars and blank petitions to the ministers in the county for the purpose of petitioning the legislature to establish a dispensary in Charlotte for Mecklenburg County. The movement spread as if by magic. In spite of the snow and sleet of the great blizzard of that winter, the petitions were carried by horseback from house to house and soon thirty-two hundred voters' names were signed to the petitions. Sub-

⁷ During the session of the committee meeting Dr. Egbert W. Smith said of the anti-saloon petition: "Names had been signed four or five times." Two hundred delegates came from Greensboro to Raleigh.

sequently, at a general meeting in Charlotte, an organization was perfected to push the fight.

The liquor dealers were defiant. They served public notice through the columns of the *Charlotte Observer* that they considered any movement on the part of the Democrats of Charlotte to establish a dispensary there a direct repudiation of a party pledge, made to them during the campaign, to the effect that their business would not be interfered with in the event that party won in the election. Not only were they prepared to resist to the last extremity the establishment of a dispensary, but they also insinuatingly prophesied that if the Democratic party broke its pledge to them such a course would mean its defeat in the next election.

The challenge of the liquor men only served to increase the zeal of the dispensary advocates. The two Democratic representatives from Mecklenburg, Ransom and Clarkson, promptly introduced a bill for its establishment in Charlotte for that county, and the House, at their request, unanimously passed the bill.

Now all eyes were turned to the Senate where Frank I. Osborne, of Charlotte, represented the county. Soon the report became general that he would oppose the bill because he had pledged to the liquor dealers his word of honor that if they would support him in the election for the Senate he would see that no legislation was passed interfering with their business in the county. The later admission on the part of Osborne that this report was true caused considerable excitement in Charlotte.

The dispensary advocates were determined to force him to withdraw his opposition. They called a great mass meeting in Charlotte for the purpose of adopting resolutions instructing him to vote for the House bill. "Such an uprising of the people," wrote a correspondent of the *News and Observer*, "has not been known in fifty years." After unanimously adopting appropriate resolutions, the meeting nominated and elected a committee of one hundred men, composed of many of the leading citizens of Charlotte favorable to the dispensary, to carry the resolutions to Raleigh. This committee of one hundred immediately chartered a special train. Arriving in Raleigh, they marched as a body in military array to the capitol building and laid their resolutions before Senator Osborne.⁸

⁸ Previously more than one hundred men had gone to Raleigh to lobby for the dispensary bill.

The first open contest in the Senate between the two factions occurred at a public hearing on the Charlotte bill before the committee on propositions and grievances. Speeches for the dispensary were made by G. W. Tillett, E. L. Cansler, Judge Armistead Burwell, Reverend J. W. Staggs, Robert B. Glenn, and others. The saloon forces, carrying a petition signed by twenty-four hundred voters of Mecklenburg, were led on the floor by speeches from T. C. Guthrie, C. W. Maxwell, and others. The closing speech was made by Osborne in support of his position. He said, his voice trembling with emotion:

I demand that this committee do me the courtesy to report this bill unfavorably. These people come here declaring before all North Carolina that I am no longer the Senator from Mecklenburg, trying to send me home in disgrace to a mother now 80 years old. I ask at your hands but the justice that I have accorded to every Senator; I ask only that you stand by me as I have stood by you—that is all I have to say.

As a result of this plea, the committee reported the bill unfavorably by a vote of five to two. The *News and Observer* said that this meeting was the "stormiest meeting of any sort during the session . . . there were more people, and more passions, more cheers and more hisses than on any previous occasion."

Having lost in the committee, the dispensary advocates were by no means ready to admit defeat in the Senate. Many had come to realize, however, that the fight was as much over senatorial courtesy as over the passage or rejection of the bill, and they had begun to fear the probable consequences on the politics of the state. The *New Bern Daily Journal* thought that "The Charlotte dispensary fight in the legislature may rupture Democracy and endanger the suffrage amendment in 1900." Concerning the debate on the question in the Senate the *News and Observer* declared that no other issue of the session, "not even the vote on the Constitutional amendment, had attracted half the crowd of spectators or evoked half the interest."

After the debate, which lasted for four hours, during which Senators Glenn and Osborne made the two most important speeches for and against the bill, respectively, the Senate defeated the House measure by a vote of thirty-one to twelve. Many of the senators explained that they were in favor of a dispensary where the senator

from that district supported the bill, but would not vote against the chosen representative of the people. The defeat, therefore, was caused largely by senatorial courtesy.

The *Charlotte Observer*, a paper opposed to prohibition in any form, characterized the fight "a fruitless agitation" and congratulated itself upon having contributed so little to the "heartburnings and animosities" which came out of the discussion. It sophistically concluded that the world was governed too much and that personal habits of individuals were not the concern of governments. Then the editor pointed out what some had thus far failed to see and what would likely cause undue foreboding, that for a town to take to itself the monopoly of the liquor business was the extreme of socialism.

One other important piece of liquor legislation was enacted during this session. Up to this time the dispensary had not been taxed by the state, although all the profits, a form of tax, went to the local community. Now a movement was begun to tax it as well as the saloons.⁹ Towns with dispensaries resisted the bill, but after a short but spirited contest, the bill became a law. It provided for a tax of \$500 on dispensaries in the large towns and a graduate scale for smaller towns, the smallest tax of \$50 being for towns under one thousand inhabitants.

The whiskey dealers were very bitter towards the dispensaries, and in Greensboro they were determined to test the legality of the law. They applied, thereupon, to the courts for an injunction to keep the dispensary from being opened, but in every attempt they were denied the writ. Being overruled in the lower courts, they appealed their case to the Supreme Court. This effort proved no more successful; they lost here also.

After 1900 many temperance reformers had become convinced that the dispensary would not solve the liquor problem, and they began more and more to look toward prohibition as the proper solution. Almost in every case after a dispensary had been established, its advocates stressed the financial success of the experiment. But since straightout prohibitionists had been denouncing for decades the use of "blood-money" tax from the saloons to educate posterity, they could

⁹ As first introduced, the bill provided \$500 on the county dispensaries. The *Raleigh Post* said: "The liquor dispensary question gave the House a lively as unexpected a shaking up yesterday."

see little distinction between saloon money and dispensary money. Moreover, the dispensary as an institution did not materially decrease the amount of public or private drinking, a goal of prohibitionists. This class of temperance reformers agreed with the sentiment expressed in a resolution adopted by a prohibition conference held at Salisbury in 1901, which declared that they were especially opposed to "that unholy compromise, the dispensary, the latest makeshift."

Therefore, when the legislature of 1901 met, temperance sentiment was again turning strongly toward prohibition, and the members of that legislature were more favorable to prohibition than to dispensaries. During this session only four dispensaries were established, neither of which was located in a large town.¹⁰ On the other hand, Greensboro, Madison, and Cumberland County were successful in having their laws repealed.

When a movement was begun again in Charlotte for a dispensary, the representatives from that county hurriedly announced that they would agree to support the proposition only upon condition that the question be submitted to the qualified white voters of Mecklenburg and that a majority of the registered voters casting their ballots for the dispensary would be necessary to instruct them. This requirement gave so much advantage to the saloon forces that the reformers decided that an election held under such rules would be almost sure to result in favor of the liquor dealers. Consequently, no further action to have a law passed was taken by the dispensary advocates of Mecklenburg.¹¹

The contest over the repeal of the Cumberland Law was the most important dispensary fight in the legislature of 1901. It was not only the absorbing topic for that county, but it again attracted state-wide interest because many Democrats expected this contest to injure the Democratic party in the state. The contest was important, too, because it showed the growing hostility to dispensaries and the increased faith in prohibition as a remedy for the liquor evil.

¹⁰ The following dispensaries were established: Township No. 1 (Edgecombe County), Kenly (Johnston County), Mayodan (Rockingham County), and Lucama (Wilson County).

¹¹ Those favoring the establishment of a dispensary in Charlotte wanted a majority of the votes cast, as was the practice in all other elections, to determine the results. They knew and said that the entire burden of the campaign would be on them because the antis would be encouraged to stay at home, a practice easy for many who were not fully convinced one way or the other.

The first move in this struggle was made by the liquor dealers and their friends. Whereupon the two representatives and the senator from the county held a conference at which two of them agreed to be guided in their legislative conduct by results of an informal election of white voters, to be held February 19.¹² The saloon forces accepted this condition and began to conduct a vigorous campaign for the repeal of the law.

The people in the county favoring the retention of the dispensary were opposed to any renewal of the agitation. They contended that an election on the matter was both unnecessary and impracticable, and they resolved not to participate, but they continued to circulate petitions for the retention of the dispensary. In order to inform the legislature further of the sentiment in the county in favor of the dispensary, county-wide mass meetings were held at the churches on Sunday, January 27, to protest any action on the part of the legislature. Resolutions were passed declaring that they were in favor of prohibition, but were willing to take "half a loaf," the dispensary, if prohibition could not be had. What more could one expect of the dispensary? Had it not, argued its advocates, reduced crime,¹³ given four times as much revenue to the county and town as did the saloons,¹⁴ supplied the schools with more abundant funds, helped business, and improve the moral conditions of the county?

¹² The two favoring the informal election were Senator J. D. McNeill and Representative E. R. MacKethan. Representative F. R. Hall had originally favored this plan but later thought it unnecessary.

¹³ Mayor Cook, of Fayetteville, now opposed to the dispensary, had made the following statement regarding the prevalence of crime under the dispensary: "Upon a comparison of the years previous to 1897, the year the dispensary was established, we find that in the arrests made since the dispensary has been in force, there has been a decrease of at least 50 per cent, and we can safely say our city has been quieter and more orderly than we have ever known it to be."

¹⁴ Financial report for 1900:

Paid to the city of Fayetteville.....	\$ 4,650.00
Paid to Cumberland County.....	4,650.00
Paid State license.....	500.00
Stock on hand paid for.....	4,594.83
Cash in bank.....	1,196.56
Total collected during year.....	\$15,491.39
Total collected from saloons, city, county and state before the establishment of dispensary, for one year taxes.....	\$ 3,235.00
Difference in favor of dispensary.....	\$12,256.39

The advocates of the primary proceeded with their plans, adopting rules and appointing precinct officials. Four days before the election the dispensary advocates, virtually admitting that they were losing strength by opposing the election, asked that it be postponed and then held under the rules proposed for Charlotte. To these requests the saloon forces curtly refused to agree, and the election was held without the dispensary advocates participating. The returns showed only thirty people voting to keep the dispensary and eight hundred and seventy voting to abolish it.

Interest then shifted to the legislature. The first skirmish was won for the dispensary when a joint committee of the House and Senate recommended its retention. But the Senate promptly voted to repeal the law by a vote of twenty-five to twelve. The House deadlocked the issue when it voted, fifty to forty, in favor of the dispensary.¹⁵ In this debate Representative H. L. Green, of Wilkes County, expressed what many felt when he declared: "These dispensaries are giving more trouble than anything else. I wish to God they had never come up in the Legislature. They have hurt the Democratic party!"

The liquor dealers, having lost their fight to repeal the law, determined not to live longer under the dispensary, and immediately inaugurated a movement for absolute prohibition. A bill for prohibition was introduced into the legislature, and the temperance members promptly gave it support. This step appeared as a sort of compromise, especially to those seeking harmony within the ranks of the Democratic party, and the bill became law with a proviso attached

¹⁵ The debate here on this bill was spirited, lasting for more than five hours. Often in the speeches, the representatives expressed the opinion that their votes and stands were being watched and would have a bearing on their future usefulness to their party. Judge H. C. Connor tried to ease the fears of these members by telling them that he too had felt that way sixteen years before, but experience had taught him that things would settle themselves, regardless of how he voted. Then he expressed a prophetic hope: "I wish the day may come when the children of North Carolina may be educated without recourse to money derived from the liquor traffic in any way." Judge A. W. Graham, speaking in favor of the dispensary, said he wanted the legislature to follow its usual custom of allowing a majority to rule. Judge W. A. Allen spoke in favor of prohibition but was opposed to the dispensary upon principle. Representative E. R. MacKethan, of Cumberland County, declared that this question made men drunk regardless of whether they drank liquor or not. He proposed to stand by the results of the primary.

that an election on prohibition or saloons should be held in the county at the next regular political election.

The movement in North Carolina continued after 1901, but only as part of the greater movement—prohibition. The dispensary was used temporarily in towns to drive out the saloons, but with the explicit understanding that the next step would be prohibition. That the dispensary would be the ultimate solution of the whiskey problem was no longer seriously entertained.

The significance of the dispensary to the progress of the development of institutional control of liquor in North Carolina was far reaching. For many years the traffic had been conducted under circumstances which effectively debarred public scrutiny. The liquor dealers jealously guarded their business, and when attempts were made to find out the facts of the trade, they never allowed the investigator to find anything more than obvious truths. But the minute a dispensary was established, the innermost secrets of the traffic became the most generally discussed topics of the community. The law required that the amount of profits earned, the number of gallons sold, and the names of the people patronizing the traffic, together with the amount purchased by each individual, should all be kept for public inspection. Consequently, the dispensary was significant because it served as a publicity agent for prohibition.

Moreover, the dispensary tended to break the political power of the Liquor Dealers Association of North Carolina. The saloon keepers much preferred prohibition. Under prohibition and with the support of their friends, they had power to strike for the re-opening of the saloons whenever public opinion, a very fickle thing, had veered in that direction. All that was necessary to gain the support or end the opposition of the local political bosses was to threaten their party with defeat in the coming election. Moreover, the liquor dealers, not expecting favors without pay, were always liberal in their contributions to political parties.

Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton correctly says that the movement "gave the saloon its death blow." The Samson remained, but he was shorn of his locks. Thus in 1903, during the great struggle over the Watts bill, the politicians found themselves freer because of the dispensary movement.

THE *CATO* AND THE *NAUTILUS*, MARYLAND PRIVATEERS

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN

IN JANUARY, 1780, two Maryland privateers were driven ashore by the English, near the mouth of the Patuxent. These ships had been intended to serve the double purpose of cruising about Chesapeake Bay for the protection of its shores, and making occasional voyages to Havana to exchange cargoes of flour for military supplies and clothing for the soldiers. This story of their brief career in the Bay is pieced together from the correspondence of the State Council of Maryland.*

The *Nautilus* was a schooner of one hundred and three tons, eight "carriage guns," and a crew of twenty. The *Cato* was much larger, for she carried fourteen guns and was manned by a crew of forty. In November, 1780, they were loaded with a variety of ammunition and put under Commodore James Tibbett with the following orders: "The Fleet under your command, consisting of the Brig *Cato*, Schooner *Nautilus*, and the two State Boats, are to cruise down the Bay to protect the Trade of the State and defend the Inhabitants thereof, most exposed to the Depredations of the Enemy. As the Continuance of the Cruise, and the Manner of conducting your operations against the Enemy must depend on Events or Circumstances that cannot possibly be foreseen you must be governed therein by your own Judgment and Discretion. Should the Enemy appear to be standing up the Bay in Force, you are to dispatch one of the Boats to us to advise us of it, and of every other material Occurrence."

This cruise lasted only five days, for on November 24, they met, off Tangier Island, a brig whose captain reported in terror that he

* All the quotations in this paper are extracts from letters forming part of this correspondence, which has been published in *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, XLVII, XLVIII.

had been chased all the way "to Lower Tangiers" by one ship, three brigs, and two schooners. Simultaneously, as if to confirm his story, a ship was seen which seemed "to be dodgen" them. The weather, they decided, was dangerous, and likely to bring a heavy gale; they had only a three days' supply of meat on board; perhaps worst of all, the *Cato* was "in a very indifferent State with respect to Seamen." The officers held a "Board of Inquiry," and voted, eight to three, to retire prudently up the Bay.

During December, preparations were made for a voyage to Havana. There were high hopes of successful encounters with the enemy en route, for the State specifically required that it should receive a third interest in all vessels and cargo taken as prizes.

The main purpose of the voyage was to get supplies for the armies. A letter refers to the "Difficulty of procuring Military Stores and cloathing in America, . . . added to our earnest Desire to supply his Catholic Majestys Fleets . . . with Provision." The Governor of Havana had agreed to see that the maximum price was paid for flour, but it was not always possible to exchange the flour directly for military stores and uniforms. In such an emergency, the masters of the ships were to accept in exchange a cargo of sugar, carry it across the Atlantic, and use it to purchase the necessary supplies in Cadiz.

Letters of Marque and Reprisal were issued for the *Cato* on December 30, and for the *Nautilus* on January 13. During the following week scouts were sent down the Bay to look for enemy vessels. Then the *Cato* and *Nautilus* set sail for Havana.

They never reached the ocean. Near the mouth of the Patuxent they were attacked by the *Iris*, which drove them ashore, and then escaped to join other British vessels at anchor off St. George's Island in the Potomac. Colonel Samuel Smith, a Baltimore merchant representing the owners, reached the spot shortly from Cedar Point, and reported as follows to the government in Annapolis: "I am to Inform you the *Cato* & *Nautilus* are both on Shore between Cedar Point and St. Jerom's Creek near the House of Mr. Bellwood—where they were driven by the *Iris* on the 22nd Inst. The *Nautilus* is high up & will be saved, near 200 B^{bles} of her flour is Sav'd already the *Cato* is farther out. The Enemy Boarding her, began to plunder & as is suppos'd went into the Magazine which blew up carry-

ing off 10 of theirs and six of our people. It has blown the Cato Stores as far forward as the pumps entirely away,—so that the water Ebbs & flows in her . . . Half of the flour may be sav'd . . . we find the water does not penetrate more than an Inch into the flour."

The salvaging of the cargo involves a deplorable story of lack of co-operation with the authorities. The Militia were called to unload the flour, but after getting off a small and easily accessible quantity, they demanded half of it as payment for their work, and departed. Colonel Smith sent frantic messages to Annapolis, begging for money to pay for labor, and ships to carry away the flour. He urged speed "to secure the States property yet remaining from the Enemy, the waves & the still greater Destroyers, the rapacious Inhabitants. The Schooner's situation & great probability of her preservation induced me . . . to offer every Eighth Barrell of that which the Militia could save, without this they refus'd working. The Schooners crew does not hold it to be their Duty to preserve anything but their Rigging & furniture . . . much of her Cargo is embezzled, the Inhabitants have offer'd such prices to the Sailors as Induc'd them to sell the States property, & they themselves have esteem'd themselves justifiable in robbing the Public.

"I followed a diffPt plan for the Brig I discharged her unruly Crew in part & Hir'd Negroes with about 20 people I sav'd in one Day 600 B^{bles} & Have now 700 B^{bles} Landed & Hope yet to secure 100 more, if your Vessells do not come down Tomorrow I shall Haul it from the Beach & Store it in the yard of Mr. Bellwood where it must stay without Cover . . . I have been ask'd 4 bbls of flour for a Cart & 4 Oxen. However, I do not Submit to any Imposition possible to avoid altho. I assure you there will be many unavoidable, such as the first night 8 B^{bles} for a Guard. I cannot paint to your Excell^y the avarice & rapacity of this People . . . Sir they have Bo^t from the Sailors when warn'd to the Contrary they at first bro't their canoes along side, as if intending to land & carried it to their own Homes & Sir if you do not send craft soon I am confident they will rob Bellwoods yard.

"The Villainy of the Inhabitants ought not to go unpunish'd. In one Days ride I found near 40 B^{bles} that they had plunder'd & stolen, 50 B^{bles} from the schooners cargo . . . yet undiscovered."

The Council did its best and finally had the cargo brought up to Annapolis. One tenth of the property saved was promised to the militia, another tenth to those who had supervised the salvaging. All available ships were ordered to go to the rescue, but most of these were in need of repairs which caused delays. One had an "Anchor and Cable" missing, the captain having been for some time in the habit of borrowing one when he needed it. This time, the State had to borrow one for him, and wait for its delivery.

The *Nautilus* was soon repaired, and resumed service before the end of February. The *Cato* was beyond repair, leaving the owners and the State involved in litigation over the loss for many months. The flour was inspected and divided into two parts. "What may be good and Merchantable" was repacked and delivered to John Dorsey & Co., in part payment of their original investment in it. "What appears by any means damaged" was to be "mixed with course Flour . . . and baked into Bread proper for the Army"!

At least two of those who helped in the salvage had other rewards than the flour. Captain Nathaniel Shepherd, who commanded the barge which brought up the flour, received a gallon of rum after the first trip. Colonel Smith immediately applied for a government position, as "Vendue" officer for the district. He got his position on May 30, 1781.

SHAKESPEAREAN PERFORMANCES IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

ROBERT L. SHURTER

THE FIRST Shakespearean play of which we have any record in America was presented in New York on March 5, 1750. From that date until the Revolution, Shakespearean productions were being given in most of the leading cities on the Atlantic seaboard. Stage productions were finally banned on October 20, 1774, when the Continental Congress passed the following resolution:

We will, in our several stations encourage frugality, economy, and industry . . . and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments.

Although Congress had no real power to enforce this mandate, it was generally respected, the companies then playing in America departed, and the first period in America dramatic history was brought to a close. A study of the methods of staging and the manner of presentation of Shakespearean plays, along with an analysis of their relative popularity with American audiences from 1750 to 1774, is highly interesting and significant; but a general discussion of the various theatrical companies and theaters is necessary first in order that these plays may be visualized in their contemporary setting.

The first theatrical company of which we have any real knowledge in America was led by Thomas Kean. These players opened their season at Philadelphia in August, 1749, with Addison's *Cato*; from there they went to New York, and later to Williamsburg and Annapolis. For us the real significance of Kean's company lies in the fact that they presented the first Shakespearean play of which we have any record in America—*Richard III*, first produced in New

York on March 5, 1750. This company had a repertoire of twenty-four plays of which this was the only one by Shakespeare.

The second company to come from England to America was that led by Robert Upton, which arrived in New York in 1751; these players remained in New York only one year before returning to England. During that year they staged seven plays, two of which were by Shakespeare. The second Shakespearean play produced in America was *Othello*, which Upton's company presented in New York on December 26, 1751. Upton also offered *Richard III*, which had been given earlier by the Kean Company.

The most important of all the companies of actors during this first period of American dramatic history was that led by Lewis Hallam. This company came to America in 1752 and remained until 1754 when it disbanded because of Lewis Hallam's death. Four years later, in 1758, Hallam's widow married David Douglass, and these two brought to America another company, which came to be known as the American Company. These players remained here from 1758 to 1774, playing in all of the major cities and producing many important plays.

The Hallam Company opened its American engagement at Williamsburg, Virginia, on September 15, 1752, with *The Merchant of Venice*. This was a great occasion in the history of the American theater, not only because it marked the first performance here of this particular play, but also because it introduced the Hallam Company to American audiences. John Esten Cooke in the tenth chapter of his interesting novel, *The Virginia Comedians*, describes this important occasion, probably with more reliance on imagination than on fact.

This original Hallam Company offered a repertoire of thirty-three plays, five of which were by Shakespeare. In addition to giving the first American performance of *The Merchant of Venice*, they also offered *Richard III*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. The première American performance of *King Lear*, the fourth Shakespearean play presented in America, was probably given at New York on January 14, 1754. One cannot be absolutely certain as to the exact date of the earliest production of any of these plays, since records of this period are rather inadequate. Generally, three

performances were given each week, and as only one of them was usually announced in the weekly newspaper, it is entirely possible that there may have been an earlier performance. So far as we can now determine, the fifth Shakespearean play given in America was *Romeo and Juliet*, which was presented by the Hallam Company at New York on January 28, 1754. Rather interesting it is to note that, in this production, Lewis Hallam acted Romeo to his mother's Juliet.

The American Company, successor to Lewis Hallam's company and led by his widow and David Douglass, added nine new Shakespearean productions to their repertoire in the years from 1758 to 1774 in addition to presenting all of the five plays that had been given by the earlier companies. These new Shakespearean plays with the dates of their first performances in America, so far as we are now able to determine them, are as follows: *Hamlet* was given first at Philadelphia on July 27, 1759; *Macbeth* was originally produced at Philadelphia on October 26, 1759; *Henry IV* had its American première at New York on December 18, 1761; *The Taming of the Shrew* (always called *Catherine and Petruchio* and acted according to Garrick's version) was first performed at the opening night of the Southwark Theater, Philadelphia, on November 21, 1766; *Cymbeline* was first presented at Philadelphia on May 25, 1767; *King John* was introduced to American audiences at Philadelphia on December 12, 1768; *The Tempest* played first at Philadelphia on January 19, 1770, in Dryden's version; *The Merry Wives of Windsor* had its American première in Philadelphia on March 2, 1770; and the last Shakespearean play given before the Revolution was *Julius Caesar*, presented in Charleston on April 20, 1774.

A brief summary shows us that fourteen of Shakespeare's plays had been presented in America before the Revolution. All except two of these, *Richard III* and *Othello*, were first presented by the Hallam Company or its successor, The American Company—a fact which is no small tribute to the importance of these companies during this period. On the basis of admittedly inadequate records, *Richard III* and *Romeo and Juliet* appear to have been the most popular of the Shakespearean productions so far as the number of performances is concerned. *Richard III* was performed over a

longer period of years than any of the other plays, and it was the only Shakespearean play included in the repertoire of all of the four earliest companies.

A comparison of the popularity of Shakespearean plays with those of other authors seems to indicate that the Bard of Avon was early America's most popular playwright. We have remarkably complete records for the 1766-67 and 1767-68 seasons of the Hallam Company in Philadelphia and New York. During the season of 1766-67 in the Southwark Theater in Philadelphia, one hundred and eight performances were given and of this number seventeen were Shakespearean plays. During the next season in New York's John Street Theater, one hundred and six performances were given, of which eighteen were Shakespearean plays. No other playwright approaches Shakespeare in popularity during this period.

A few writers in discussing the early drama in America have stated that this popularity of Shakespeare's plays was not altogether a blessing, since it retarded the development of American drama and tended to make most of our playwrights mere imitators of Shakespeare. Certainly there is much evidence of the influence of Shakespeare in early American plays, but one can hardly blame the paucity of American plays on that fact—a distrust of the theater and a puritanical fear of stage productions were much more potent factors in retarding our dramatic development.

One would give much now to know all of the details of the eighteenth-century productions of Shakespeare's plays in America. Unfortunately, we have no detailed records of any of the performances, so that we can only make inferences from what we know of the theatrical companies, the theaters, and certain early American plays. Certainly the conditions under which such a company as Hallam's had to labor must have been a serious handicap to the effective presentation of Shakespearean plays. There were not more than three or four permanent theaters in America at this time, and these were small, poorly equipped, and badly lighted. In towns where there were no permanent theaters, the players used an empty store, a courthouse, or a loft; sometimes, as at an early performance at Newport, Rhode Island, when *Othello* was acted as "a series of

moral dialogues" in order to overcome puritanical prejudices, there was neither stage nor scenery.

The audience itself was very likely to prove a handicap to the effective presentation of plays. Dr. Oral S. Coad, in an excellent paper on "The Stage and Players in Eighteenth Century America" (*The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1920), mentions the fact that "the beaux insisted on the ancient privilege, exercised since Elizabethan days by their honorable confraternity, of sitting on the stage." John Esten Cooke, in his *The Virginia Comedians*, tells of an actress who after finishing her speech turned and chatted with these gallants sitting on the stage until her next cue. Another insight into current practices is given by the following advertisement written by David Douglass of the American Company:

May 3, 1762. A pistole reward will be given to whoever can discover the Person who was so very rude to throw Eggs from the Gallery, upon the Stage last Monday, by which the Cloaths of some Ladies and Gentlemen in the Boxes were spoiled, and the Performance in some Measure interrupted.

David Douglass.

Many of the practices of the early American theater in staging Shakespearean productions were very unusual, and to us rather amusing. Evidently, spectacles were a real box-office attraction at that period; consequently, the producers did their best to make their Shakespearean plays as spectacular as possible by inserting certain elements. From advertisements we learn that a "dance of the foresters" was inserted in the fifth act of *As You Like It*; into *The Tempest* was introduced "a grand Masque of Neptune and Amphitrite, drawn in a Shell Chariot by Sea Horses"; one of the attractions of *Romeo and Juliet* was an elaborate funeral procession to the tomb of the Capulets. Dr. Coad tells of other highly diverting interpolations. For instance, the hero's triumphal entry in *Coriolanus* was heralded by the singing of "Hail the Conquering Hero Comes." The witches in *Macbeth* were "played by low comedians, who looked like old tattered beggarwomen." Contemporary critics objected that while *Macbeth* was busy addressing the ghost of Banquo in the banquet scene, the guests went on quite unconcernedly munching apples

and drinking, paying little or no attention to Macbeth's impassioned words.

Some ideas about the scenery and the stage effects which were used in producing Shakespeare during this period may be gained by examining such early American plays as *The Prince of Parthia* and *The Conquest of Granada*. As Dr. Coad has pointed out, there are only a few brief scene descriptions such as "A Palace" or "A Prison" in Thomas Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia*, written in 1759 and acted eight years later; from this we may perhaps infer that the early stage sets were very simple, consisting probably of a back-drop vaguely suggesting some location and equally usable in Shakespearean and other plays. The theaters were perhaps lighted by candles which were probably raised and lowered over the stage.

Our knowledge of the early theaters in which the first Shakespearean plays were performed is a little more complete. The Nassau Street Theater in New York was a two-storied house with high gables. Its stage was raised approximately five feet from the floor, and a green curtain suspended from the ceiling in front of it. A chandelier, made of a barrel hoop into which candles were inserted, served to light the theater. The Southwark Theater in Philadelphia was much the same kind of place. These same particulars are described in Royall Tyler's play, *The Contrast* (1789), in which Jonathan, a rustic character, enters a theater by mistake and describes what he saw there.

In view of the facts mentioned—the inadequate scenery, the lack of really permanent theaters, and the opposition of the general public to stage productions—one can readily infer that Shakespearean performances were poorly presented in eighteenth-century America. When one considers the handicaps under which these early companies labored, one wonders that they had the courage and fortitude even to attempt the most elementary dramatic performances. The fact that they attempted so much of Shakespeare's work ought at least to command our respect, no matter how badly the Shakespearean plays fared in the process.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A SLAVE

CHARLES S. SYDNOR

IN THE YEAR 1788 there poured down from the rugged and beautiful mountains of Futa Jallon, West Africa, an army of seventeen hundred Fulbes, mostly horsemen. These were a proud people, a mixture probably of Negro and Berber stock, who dominated the darker Negroes among whom they lived. This army was being launched against the Hebohs, a coast tribe of Negroes, who had been disturbing the trade of the Fulbe by destroying vessels that came to the coast.

At their head rode Abduhl Rahahman, a tall young man of twenty-six years. After seven years of service among the horsemen he had now advanced to the command of this important expedition. The responsibility was great, but his courage was sustained by pride of rank and of race and by the thought that he was following a course which had brought much success and power to his father.

His father was Alman Ibrahim, King of Futa Jallon, and his grandfather had been King of Timbuktu. Thus he was descended from the Moorish invaders who had conquered Timbuktu back in 1591. Because of this, Abduhl considered himself even better than the proud Fulbe, for he claimed to be of pure Moorish blood. Had not his father passed over his first-born son, begotten at Futa Jallon by a Soosoo Negress, and chosen Abduhl as his heir because Abduhl's mother was one of his Moorish wives at Timbuktu?

This remarkable city, the birthplace of Abduhl, was far in the interior of Africa on the northern edge of the great bend of the Niger River, where the jungle of central Africa jutted out into the desert of northern Africa. It was the meeting place of the canoe and the camel, of gold, wax, and ivory from the Niger country and of salt from the Sahara. By an act of nature it was the "port of the Sudan in the Sahara"; it was the great interior market-town of western Africa. Although the inhabitants did some weaving of cotton, work-

ing of leather, and making of earthenware, most of them were traders, serving as middlemen between the pagan woolly-haired Negroes from the south and the Mohammedan Arabs, Berbers, and fierce Tuaregs who came with their caravans out of the desert. Most of the inhabitants were Mohammedans; none were Christians with the exception of an occasional slave. The first European traveler to reach Timbuktu came in 1824, and he was promptly murdered.

Five years after Abduhl's birth Alman Ibrahim moved his family from Timbuktu to Timbo, the capital of Futa Jallon. When Abduhl was twelve years old his father sent him back to Timbuktu to be educated in a manner befitting the heir to a throne. In later years Abduhl described the school he attended as containing "upwards of two hundred pupils under four masters. They read the Alcoran, wrote on boards, attended to what they called Geography, to Astronomy, to calculation, to the Mohammedan Religion, and to the laws of the country." At the age of seventeen he once more made the long journey to his father's kingdom, and two years later was placed with the cavalry and sent out to war.

It was within that year that Abduhl first saw a white man. This stranger was John C. Cox, the English surgeon of a ship that dropped anchor off the coast of Sierra Leone, West Africa, in 1781. While waiting for the time of sailing Cox went on a hunting expedition and became lost; when he at last found his way back to the coast, he discovered that his ship had sailed. Seeking to escape, he began traveling northward toward the Gambia River where English ships frequently came to buy slaves. By the time he reached Futa Jallon his plight had become desperate, for an injured leg had made him so lame and sick that he could scarcely travel. In this condition he was found and brought before Alman Ibrahim. Cox had no reason to hope for hospitable treatment. In fact, cannibalism was practiced by various tribes of that part of Africa. But Alman Ibrahim invited him to remain until he should be able to travel again, and he placed him under the care of a woman who nursed him back to health. While Cox was recovering he had an opportunity to become well acquainted with the king and the son who was expected to succeed to the kingship.

The curiosity which first drew the young Moor to the Englishman

soon changed to friendship. While Cox's wounded leg was healing he lived in Abduhl's house, which adjoined that of the king. To be taken into the royal family of one of the tribes in the interior of Africa was an interesting experience for an adventurous young Englishman; but as health returned, Cox began to long for his family and friends back in England, and he wanted to go home. However, Timbo was almost one hundred and fifty miles from the coast; Cox knew little or nothing of the country through which he would have to pass; the tribes along the coast were less civilized and would doubtless be less benevolent than the people of Futa Jallon; nor was it certain where and when he could find a ship.

At the end of about six months Alman Ibrahim asked Cox whether he wanted to return to his own country. When the latter said, "Yes," Ibrahim asked the reason, reminding him that he was being well treated. Cox replied that that was so, but he explained that his mother and father had doubtless thought him dead when his ship returned without him, and that he would like to return to them. Such a plea could be understood among almost any people, and preparations began to be made for his departure. Ibrahim detailed a guard of fifteen armed men to escort Cox to the coast, provided gold and ivory to pay for his passage, and bade him farewell. The guard was instructed to bring Cox back if no ship could be found; but should one be found, the warriors were warned not to go on board. Evidently Ibrahim had heard of English slave-ships and the methods of their masters.

Cox and his guard reached the coast in safety. After some delay they found the same vessel on which Cox had come to Africa, and on it he returned to England.

As Abduhl led his army westward down into the coast country he may have remembered his white friend who had sailed off seven years before over the same great sea he was approaching. And he may have remembered how his father had in his youth led an army westward from Timbuktu to win the kingdom of Futa Jallon. Now he in his turn was leading an army to conquest.

After putting the Hebohs to flight and ravaging their country, Abduhl began his triumphal march back to his mountainous country. When the dismounted warriors, leading their horses, were half way

to the top of a steep mountain the Hebohs began firing down upon them. They had quickly rallied and by forced marches gone in advance of the Fulbe army. Abduhl at once ordered his confused men to charge up the mountain as best they could and there to assemble and fight. He led the way; but on reaching the top he found that only his guard had followed. Since they were too few to make a stand, they gave ground, fighting as they went. Retreat soon changed to flight, but Abduhl, refusing to humble himself by running from a Negro, dismounted and sat down. One of the Hebohs approaching him from behind shot him in the shoulder. Another came in front and raised his gun to kill him; but seeing his clothes, ornamented with gold, he cried out that this was the king. They therefore lowered their guns and rushed in to bind him. The first Abduhl killed with the sword on which he had been sitting. At almost the same moment another Heboh, standing behind, knocked him unconscious with a gun.

His captors revived him by dipping him into a nearby pond. Then he was bound, his shoes were pulled off, and he was made to walk barefooted over the hundred miles back to the country of the Hebohs. While his feet were being bruised, his eyes watched his own horse being led before him—the horse on which he had just ridden at the head of his conquering army.

When the remnant of Abduhl's force straggled home, his father at once collected an army and set out to rescue him. But the Hebohs hid their captive in the jungle until Ibrahim gave up the search, burned their villages, and returned home. Abduhl was then taken into the Mandingo country. He offered his captors a large amount of gold and many sheep and cattle if they would release him. Instead, they sold him with about fifty other slaves to an English ship on the Gambia River.

At this time the English bought scarcely a thousand slaves a year on the Gambia; fifteen or twenty years earlier they had purchased nearly three times as many. In the course of this trade Abduhl was purchased for two powder horns, two muskets, two bottles of whiskey, a handful of tobacco, and a few other articles of trade. He was placed in irons and taken on board; for the drag-net of this great trade was no respecter of race, religion, or rank.

What were the thoughts and emotions of the young prince can only be imagined, nor indeed can his physical surroundings be described with exactness; but the current practices of English slave vessels bound for America are well known. About ten shillings' worth of plantains, bananas, yams, potatoes, rice, bread, and wheat was considered ample for each slave on the voyage to American ports, which was seldom made in less than two months. During that time the slaves were crowded in the space between the first and second decks. Except during storms, light and air filtered in through portholes and grated hatchways. On one well-known slaver, the height between decks was five feet and eight inches, and around the sides a platform was built cutting this space in half. Slaves were packed on this platform, on the floor under it, and on the floor of the unplatformed center as closely as they could lie.

So many slaves died on the passage that the British Parliament, by an act passed in the same year that Abduhl was captured, provided a bonus for the captain and surgeon of each ship that reached the West Indies without losing on the passage over 3 per cent of the human cargo. And insuring against losses by death while at sea was prohibited because this had led some captains to dump overboard and collect insurance on slaves who seemed likely to die or remain hopelessly diseased after the vessel docked. Also, in spite of the protests of the merchants of Liverpool, Parliament ordered that floor space six feet long and one foot and four inches wide should be allowed for each grown man. The surface of the platform was counted as part of the floor. Women and children were allowed less than the men.

Abduhl survived the crossing and with his fellow-slaves was unloaded into the sunshine and fresh air of the English island of Dominica, one of the Leeward group. He was then reshipped to New Orleans, and from there he was taken up the Mississippi River and sold to Thomas Foster, a planter who lived near Natchez.

Possibly his most humiliating experience was having his head shaved, for he was a Mohammedan. He was put to work in the cotton fields by the side of other Africans, most of whom he considered his inferiors, but in time he took a Negro slave woman for his wife. Gradually he learned to speak the language of the new coun-

try but not to write it, and he must have claimed that he was the son of a king in his own country because he came to be called by the name Prince. He made the best of life as a slave in Mississippi; in time he became highly valued by his master; but he never forgot the life he had lived in Futa Jallon, nor Allusine, the two-year old son he had left in Africa.

One day, about seventeen years after he was made a slave, Prince's master sent him to the village of Washington, six miles east of Natchez, to sell sweet potatoes. There he met a fellow-slave, Sambo. While they were talking by the roadside, one of the most respected physicians in the Natchez region came on horseback in their direction. After watching him a moment Prince said to the other slave:

"Sambo, that man rides like a white man I saw in my country. See when he comes by; if he opens but one eye, that is the same man."

Suddenly realizing that the basket of sweet potatoes on his head could be made an excuse for a closer examination of the rider, he walked out to him and asked:

"Master, you want to buy some potatoes?"

The rider stopped, asked what kind of potatoes he had, and began to look them over. Meanwhile Prince looked closely at his eyes and was sure that this was Cox.

"Where did you come from?"

Naming his master, Prince replied: "From Colonel Foster's." But this was not the information Cox was seeking; he also was struggling to bring into clear focus memories that had blurred in the passing of almost twenty-five years. Suddenly he exclaimed: "He did not raise you: you came from Timbo! Your name is Abduhl Rahahman!"

Springing from his horse, he embraced the slave, told him to put down his load and to come to his house. But Prince was a well-trained slave and would not desert his master's property until a Negro woman had been summoned to take charge of the potatoes.

Cox at once sent for Nathaniel Ware, Acting Governor of the Mississippi Territory, to come to his house. When he came, Cox told him that he wanted to aid his enslaved friend to return to his own country. However, an arrangement satisfactory to his owner would

have to be made, for neither the governor nor anyone else could take a slave from his master.

The next morning, accordingly, Cox went to Foster's plantation and told him of his desire to send Prince back to Africa. But Foster was not given to sentimentality. Prince, he pointed out, was an industrious and faithful servant who was still in the prime of life. He had never known him to be intoxicated, he was honest, and his influence over his fellow-slaves gave him a value far beyond that of an ordinary laborer. Cox replied that he was willing to pay whatever Prince was worth and offered a thousand dollars, which was a handsome price at that time. But Foster absolutely refused, adding that he doubted whether the man would be any happier if his freedom were given to him.

For the remaining ten years of Cox' life no change occurred. After his death on December 15, 1816, his son William Rousseau Cox, likewise a physician, took up the task of trying to free Prince. But Foster continued adamant, and in time William Cox also died leaving master and slave bound to each other as though that relationship was the one changeless element in the drama.

Another decade passed, and another attempt was made toward freedom. For some years Prince had known Andrew Marschalk, who many years before had brought the first printing press to the old Natchez region. As a newspaper editor and as a politician Marschalk had learned something of how to get things done. Accordingly, he had the old slave write a letter pleading for his freedom. This, written in Arabic characters, he sent on October 3, 1826, to Thomas Buck Reed, United States Senator from Mississippi. Marschalk added a brief note stating that Prince "claims to belong to the royal family of Morocco" and hoped to return home. He asked Reed to do what he could toward satisfying "the old man's wishes." The first statement, fortunately for Prince, was a mistake. Although he claimed to be a Moor and to belong to a royal family, he did not claim to be close kin to the ruling family of Morocco.

Senator Reed read Marschalk's letter, looked at Prince's Arabic letter, and then turned them both over to the Department of State. The latter, being misled by Marschalk's error, sent them to the American consul at Tangier. After conferring with the Bashaw, the consul

urgently advised the government of the United States to send Prince to him, adding that this would make it easier to secure the release of American sailors who were occasionally wrecked on the Moroccan coast. Neither the consul nor the Bashaw detected the error which had caused the case to be brought to them, nor were they enlightened when Prince's letter was read, for instead of being autobiographical it was made up of quotations from the Koran so pieced together as to constitute a plea for help. Only the signature was personal, and if the Bashaw had never heard of any member of the royal family having such a name, he kept his suspicions to himself.

When the consul's dispatch reached the Department of State it was placed before Secretary Henry Clay, who was so impressed that he submitted the matter to President John Quincy Adams with the recommendation that Prince be purchased and sent home. Adams concurred, and on July 12, 1827, a letter was sent to Marschalk requesting him to act as the government's agent in this case.

Accordingly, he visited old Colonel Foster and asked whether he would sell Prince. As the slave was now too old to have much if any value, Foster was fortunate to receive an offer; and by failing to make the best of it he proved that his interest in Prince was not entirely mercenary. He told Marschalk that four years before he had informed the slave that he would release him if he could arrange to return to his native land but that he would make no contribution toward defraying the costs of the journey; he declared that he was still willing to carry out this promise. However, he added that he would do this only on the condition that Prince would not be set free until he reached Africa, fearing that his children and other fellow-slaves might be restive if they saw him a free man.

Marschalk also talked with Prince before writing to the Department of State. Prince told him that if he could return, he would take with him "feelings of the most profound friendship and respect to all the white men of America: but most particularly those of the State of Mississippi—and of Natchez." Although Prince was by birth and education a strict Mohammedan, he seemed well informed about the moral precepts of Christianity and was very anxious to secure a New Testament in Arabic. When Marschalk expressed the wish that he would become a Christian, Prince promptly replied that

he thought he would. In fact, his chief objection was that Christians did not follow the excellent precepts of their religion.

A report of his conversations with Foster and Prince was sent by Marschalk to Secretary Clay on August 20, 1827, and for a time that seemed to end the matter. Weeks and then months passed and no answer came, but nearly every day Prince came to ask Marschalk whether the letter had come that would take him home. He was impatient, but not to escape from hard labor; for after thirty years Foster had lightened his duties and treated him indulgently. But Prince wanted to revisit the places he had known in his youth, to see once more his friends and relatives in Futa Jallon, and to be a free man. There was not much time to waste if he was to die in his own country, for he was now sixty-five years old. Even Marschalk began to grow impatient, and on December 18 he sent Clay a duplicate of his earlier letter. While Marschalk was writing this, Prince came to ask whether there was any news. When he was told what Marschalk was doing, he borrowed the pen and at the end of the letter he wrote in Arabic who he was.

Whether Prince's note turned the scale or not, Marschalk's letter was answered almost at once. On January 12, 1828, Clay instructed him to take charge of Prince, under the conditions imposed by Foster, and to send him to Washington either up the Mississippi River and thence overland, or down the river to New Orleans and then by sea. Marschalk was further authorized to draw at sight on Clay for a sum not exceeding \$200 "to defray the expense of decently, but plainly clothing him, if it should be necessary" and to pay his expenses on the journey to Washington. Clay explained that the object of the government in restoring Prince to his family and country was "for the purpose of making a favorable impression in behalf of the United States."

As the time drew near for Prince to set out for Washington, he began to realize that to break away from his life as a slave in Mississippi would not be entirely pleasant. Though he boasted that there was no Negro blood in his veins and though he considered his own race infinitely superior to that to which his slave-wife belonged, the thought of leaving her and their five children and eight grandchildren

began to overshadow the pleasure he felt at the prospect of returning to Africa.

Foster stated that although he valued the woman at three hundred dollars, he would release her for two hundred dollars. This was written out at the top of a subscription paper which was circulated in Natchez. In less than twenty-four hours 140 subscribers contributed enough to purchase her. In fact, there was a surplus which was invested in supposedly Moorish robes, and when Prince departed with his wife he was costumed to fit the part of a returning prince. He took with him the manumission papers of his wife, a letter to the American Colonization Society from Cyrus Griffin, who had written once before in his behalf, and a number of testimonials as to his character and conduct from persons in and about Natchez who had known him many years. Among the signers of such documents were Andrew Marschalk, Woodson Wren, who was Clerk of the Adams County Court, Henry Tooley, John Henderson, and former Governor Nathaniel Ware.

The old couple reached the capital of the United States in the spring of 1828. But when Prince was interrogated about his life in Africa and when the lengthy letters of Cyrus Griffin were read, it was evident to the Department of State that Morocco was not his native land; and though he knew much about the geography, government, and customs of the regions south of the Great Desert, he had never traveled north of it.

The Department was thus in a quandary. With the facts now before it and the error in Marschalk's letter made evident, there was no reason why it should be officially interested in this old African. The government of the United States had no diplomatic relationship with or interest in the mountainous and nearly unknown country of Futa Jallon from which he had come. But here was the old man with his wife, his Moorish costume, his testimonials, and his high hopes of going home.

As it happened, the Secretary of State was well acquainted with the work of the American Colonization Society. He was one of its vice-presidents, and his interest in the organization was so well known that it was sometimes whispered that the society was a part of the Clay political machine. The purpose of the colonization society was

to return Negroes from the United States to Africa, and, as quixotic as it may appear, some of its adherents had hopes of doing a thorough job. Before the Civil War over eleven thousand Negroes were colonized on the west coast of Africa a little below Sierra Leone where they eventually created the independent state of Liberia.

The society was in its infancy when Prince reached Washington, and it was sometimes accused of being an anti-slavery organization. But no objection could be raised against transporting Prince to Africa. Though a slave, his master had consented to his return to Africa, and the current argument that the Negro race was unfit for freedom could not be used against Prince who claimed that he was not a Negro. It must be said, however, that those who were befriending him had to make much of the effect of hard labor and Mississippi sunshine on the complexion and the texture of hair to explain why he looked so much like a Negro.

Not only was Prince an unobjectionable case for the colonization society to take under its wing; he was, indeed, something of a wind-fall. Real princes did not often come to hand, and this one fitted the part. His appearance was good, he was "intelligent, modest, and obliging," and "his manners are not merely prepossessing, but dignified." Nor could his behavior while a slave be criticized, for it was said on good authority that "though born and raised in affluence, he has submitted to his fate without a murmur, and has been an industrious and faithful servant." In short, the society quickly saw the advantages to be gained by pushing him into public view and making of him something of a test case of its work.

Accordingly, Prince was transferred from the Department of State to the American Colonization Society. He, of course, was well pleased at the change. The little colony of Liberia was only ten or fifteen days journey from Timbo. He stated, possibly after some persuasion by the officers of the Society, that he would remain in Liberia and not attempt to take up his old life in his native land. Of what had happened there during his forty years of exile he was ignorant. His father was said to have died long before, which was reasonable to suppose. There were several reports as to whom the present ruler was; some said his older brother, some said another kinsman. Nor was it certain what had become of the infant son

Prince had left in Africa. At any rate, he had lost during his long term of slavery the thirst for power, and he declared that instead of seeking to gain the throne of his land he preferred to spend his remaining days as a private citizen in the colony of Liberia.

This profession removed the last argument that might be used against him. Only an excuse for putting him in the limelight was needed, and this was easily supplied. He wished to take his children and grandchildren with him, and funds were needed to purchase them from slavery and transport them to Africa. Accordingly, he was sent through the North on a money-raising tour, which was doubtless an infraction of the agreement made with Foster but was excellent publicity for the colonization movement. Whether he wore his Moorish costume is unknown.

Prince's impresario on most of his tour was the Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet, a warm-hearted and public-spirited man who had founded at Hartford, Connecticut, the first free school in America for the deaf. Gallaudet devoted several weeks to speaking in Prince's behalf in the New England states, for after leaving Washington Prince visited Baltimore, Philadelphia, Providence, New Bedford, Springfield, Suffield, Windsor, Hartford, and New Haven. Finally they reached New York, where Gallaudet "appealed powerfully in his behalf to the generous and the wealthy of that city—at a large and most respectable meeting in the Masonic Hall." By this meeting the fund for the purchase of Prince's family was swelled to two thousand five hundred dollars. A committee of five was appointed at its conclusion to continue the canvass. Gallaudet, to aid this committee, wrote a brief history of Prince's life, which was published as an eight-page pamphlet in October, 1828.

In the meantime, the American Colonization Society was giving publicity to the case by printing the letters of Cyrus Griffin and several other articles in its monthly journal known as the *African Repository*. Some of these were copied or summarized in newspapers and thus reached a wider audience.

In these writings "the case of this venerable old man and his affectionate wife" was placed before the public with a plea for their help, which was supported by appeals to logic and to sentiment. The kindness of Prince and his family to Dr. Cox, "a sick, wandering,

friendless stranger in Africa," was described. It was argued that Prince's return would help to spread Christianity in Africa. Luckily for this argument Prince, his wife, and their oldest son had joined the Baptist Church shortly before he departed from Natchez. And supposing Prince did not prove to be an active missionary himself, the mere fact of his return would prove, so it was claimed, the evidence of a Christian spirit in the United States. The deed itself would be a sermon preached to Africa.

The claim was also made that Prince's return would help destroy the slave trade in Futa Jallon and increase the prosperity of Liberia: Futa Jallon would cease exporting men when it was learned that other products could be sold to great profit through Liberia. Prince's connection with the royal family of his country would help to create this economic union. Indeed, some of the more optimistic dared to hope that trade might be developed between Liberia and the great interior market-town of Timbuktu.

The editor of the *Journal of Commerce* declared: "We are soberly convinced, that if Great Britain had possession of Abduhl Rahahman, and he stood in the same relation to her that he does to us, she would prize her good fortune beyond almost any sum. . . . It is more than probable, that within two years, we should hear of a thriving commerce with the whole of that vast interior; we should have an accurate description of the habits, origin, and resources of the people; an accurate geography of the country, containing the whole unexplored course of the Niger; and what is more weight still with the Christian and philanthropist, a way would be opened for the entrance of Charity and the Christian Religion. We really hope that an expedition will be fitted out, if not by government, at least by the enterprise of individuals to accompany the Prince to his native country."

By the end of 1828 the total contributions had been increased to approximately four thousand dollars. This was not enough to purchase his five children and eight grandchildren whose cost, so the American Colonization Society estimated, would amount to about ten thousand dollars. Therefore, the decision was made to send Prince and his wife on instead of delaying their passage until their children could go with them.

Early in 1829 the aged couple sailed out of Hampton Roads on:

the ship *Harriet*, Captain Johnson commanding. The *African Repository* celebrated the event by printing a three-stanza poem inspired by the occasion. In all, there were one hundred and sixty emigrants aboard bound for the small colony at Liberia, where a new state was being created on the African coast. Two of the lot were ministers, and most of those on board were from Virginia. Prince doubtless found his companions more agreeable and his lot infinitely better than it had been on the slave ship forty years earlier.

After the sailing of Prince and his wife, efforts were continued in behalf of their children and grandchildren, and eight of them were purchased for \$3,100. The others presumably remained in slavery. These eight were sent by boat from New Orleans to New York, where they were placed in the home of a colored family in Brooklyn. Later, they were taken to Norfolk, Virginia, whence they sailed, October 26, 1830, on the *Carolinian* with ninety-nine other emigrants bound for Liberia.

Meanwhile, Prince had reached Liberia. He had been sent to fill many and great purposes. He was expected to have a large share in the development of trade with the interior parts of Africa, in the Christianizing of the inhabitants of these regions, and in securing for the struggling settlement at Liberia the friendship of Futa Jallon. While he doubtless felt these responsibilities to some extent, his own thoughts were of his family: those he had left in Mississippi, and those whom he had hoped to see in Africa after the lapse of forty years.

A glimpse into his heart is gained through the following letter, which he wrote soon after landing, to one of the officers of the American Colonization Society.

MONROVIA, May 5, 1829

REVEREND SIR:

I am happy to inform you that I arrived safely in Africa, with my wife, and found the people generally in good health. You will please inform all my friends that I am in the land of my forefathers; and that I shall expect my friends in America to use their influence to get my children for me, and I shall be happy if they succeed. You will please inform my children, by letter, of my arrival in the Colony.

As soon as the rains are over, if God be with me, I shall try to bring

my countrymen to the Colony, and to open the trade. I have found one of my friends in the Colony. He tells me we can reach home in fifteen days, and promises to go with me. I am unwell, but much better.

I am, with much respect, your humble servant.

ABDUHL RAHAHMAN.

About two months after this letter was written a small band of Fulbe set out from Timbo. They had received a letter from Abduhl Rahahman whom the old men remembered as the prince whom the Hebohs had captured in battle many years ago. He was writing to tell them that he was now free but that his children and grandchildren were slaves in a distant country, and he asked for money to ransom them. In response to this plea the band of Fulbe were bringing seven thousand dollars' worth of gold dust through the wilderness to Liberia.

On their journey they met a trader who had recently been in Liberia. While telling them the news he mentioned the fact that among the recent immigrants there was an old man named Abduhl Rahahman who claimed to be a Fulbe. Since his hearers seemed especially interested in this person he went on to tell them that Abduhl, like most newcomers, had been attacked by the coast fever. He had recovered, so the trader said, but soon afterward he had suffered another attack and had died on July 6. When they heard this news the Fulbe at once returned with their gold to Timbo.

KENNETH BURKE: THE CRITIC'S CRITIC

CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG

I

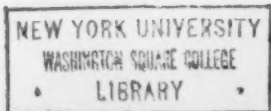
A SUBTLE and adventurous critic, Kenneth Burke is willing to follow the trail of an idea wherever it may lead, without regard to established sanctities of meaning. In a style that is logical, compact, almost wearisome in its insistence on defining terms and clarifying meanings, he ventures upon the ambitious task of reappraising all hitherto existing critical values. This involves him in a study of linguistics, logic, anthropology, psychology, and methodology. His method—the utilization of the principle of polarity—is simple but daring: he takes a number of commonly accepted truths and values, reduces them to their elementary premises, and then quietly inquires if the converse could not be regarded as equally true. This process he calls achieving perspective through incongruity. In other words, he demonstrates that a statement may be both true and false at the same time. Its "truth" depends on the frame of reference within which it is situated, the point of orientation from which it is viewed. By means of this method he is able to puncture the pretensions of many a vested critical system. His primary object is to secure terminological exactitude by reducing meanings, which are essentially social in origin and purpose, to their component elements.

It is not likely that Kenneth Burke will be widely read or that he will receive generous public recognition. The reason is not far to seek. His books are too technical, packed too solidly with speculative material that requires careful analysis. He is too skeptical, too discriminating and iconoclastic a thinker. His preoccupation with the nature of meaning, his command of a style that is laboriously precise—these alone will cause him to remain the intellectual leader of a small minority. He is the critic's critic par excellence. Not that he is unable to write simply; he does, in fact, write simply; but the

material he deals with is often so recondite and complex that no other style seems possible for his scrupulous and exacting intelligence.

In an age of disintegrating faith, when all of man's knowledge and belief is undergoing a searching re-examination, he has taken upon himself the enormously difficult task of tearing down the whole cumbersome critical structure and building anew on a firmer and more lasting foundation. To do so, he was compelled to erect his premises and postulates, to formulate a series of consistent concepts and bind them together in a functionally valid body of ideas. Such an undertaking naturally led him to a consideration of our linguistic heritage, the genealogy of words, the function and psychological bearing of language. Once words are stripped of their sacred, emotive qualities, it is possible to proceed to a discussion of fundamentals. It is primarily the technical character of his work, not his style, which has militated against his literary "success." The general public is not interested in questions of form, methods of appeal, the morphology of style, terminological consistency, pure truth. And yet there are few critics writing at the present time who are exerting a more pronounced, though subterranean, influence than Kenneth Burke. If in the future American criticism moves in the direction of increased clarity, precision, and understanding, it will be due in no small measure to the important contributions made by this comparatively young critic.

His reputation, such as it is, rests on two books, *Counter-Statement* and *Permanence and Change*, both of which are concerned with the basic principles of criticism. *Counter-Statement* attempts to present a coherent point of view, which is "somewhat apologetic, negativistic, and even antinomian, as regards everything but art." He does more than construct the scaffolding of a general critical theory; he endeavors to interpret and evaluate a number of significant writers—Thomas Mann, Gide, Pater, and Flaubert—in the light of this theory. In one chapter, entitled "Program," he tries to come to terms with the socio-economic conception of art. Even then he had already arrived at the conclusion that life is conditioned by the social structure, though he had not yet made up his mind as to the nature of the conditioning process or in what manner society should be reformed. He had not yet taken the plunge into the deep and troubled



waters of literary Marxism. Highly suggestive, too, is the "Lexicon Rhetoricae," which is a kind of judgment machine he designed "to serve as an instrument for clarifying critical issues, not so much for settling issues as for making the nature of a controversy more definite." This he does by elaborating some key terms for the purpose of nomenclature and analysis.

Permanence and Change covers a vast terrain of thought. It seeks to postulate a philosophy of social values as well as to present a critique of social thought and expression. His method of achieving perspective through incongruity, of hunting for the antithesis of what has been taken for granted in various fields of action and speculation, comes into full play. The instrument of logic is wielded like a surgical knife cutting away diseased or superfluous tissue. Intellectually enterprising and ingenious, he succeeds in introducing a rich varied assortment of provisional ideas and in overhauling our whole critical vocabulary. He owes a great deal to workers in other vineyards—I. A. Richards, Veblen, Dewey, and Freud; indeed, one criticism that might be made of this book is that it is largely derivative in substance. His borrowing, however, is done in no subservient, academic spirit. Fundamentally he is a disciple of Dewey, applying his philosophy of instrumentalism to language, social values, and art. The contributions of Freud are accepted as offering fertile clues, but the intrusion of bias and error in psychoanalysis is sharply exposed. Though his sympathies veer decidedly towards communism, Burke's rationalism prevents him from completely embracing any system of values without a preliminary "scientific" investigation to determine its validity.

II

The problems which Burke takes up are fundamental to an understanding of our age. Science, he feels, has advanced too far and at too fast a rate for us to adjust our spiritual and mental resources to the revolution. Arguing that there is an important distinction between scientific and artistic truth, he maintains that a poet may develop a belief which he knows to be false. The poet writes "as if" what he says is true. All that the artist can do is to endeavor to be consistent and sincere within the framework of the fiction he

constructs. "The 'sum total' of art relieves the artist of the need of seeing life steadily and seeing it whole."

In *Permanence and Change*, Burke's attitude towards science has crystallized. Though recognizing the achievements of science, he points out the great harm that scientific thought has done. It has created a closed universe; it has transformed man into a machine conditioned by his material environment; it has stripped him of the illusion of free will, which is at the heart of ethics. Burke distrusts the arbitrary ideology perfected and dictated by science. Something is lacking in the scientific ideal, he insists, which is tremendously important for mankind. Negatively we are given to understand that science leaves out of account a number of moral and religious affirmations without which man cannot create a satisfying metaphor of the universe, a convincing world-orientation.

Since science as an organized body of knowledge rests upon a foundation of first principles, it cannot go far without a concept of the end striven for. To envisage this end, Burke declares, is to set up an aim, and hence a philosophy of science. All this has been said before. Much of it is undoubtedly true. But is it not a mistake to argue that the basic assumptions of science are to be tested by the standards of reason alone—as if these assumptions were syllogistic exercises, the fallacies of which could be discovered by the patient application of logic? On the contrary, these assumptions are rooted in experience, in a special kind of experience—experiments conducted under certain controlled conditions, which can be repeated again and again for the purpose of verification. If the conclusions arrived at do not confirm the original premise, the assumptions are revised and a new hypothesis formed. Reasoning in science is not a thing apart, a self-sufficient entity; it is part of the experience, part of the experiment and is itself subject to verification. Reason is inherent in the empirical process. There is a scientific mode of reasoning and of observing the workings of the mind. Skepticism against science is justified, but it must be a neutral kind of skepticism, freed from emotional or ethical imperatives. Too often skepticism is generated by an underlying impatience with science because it fails to satisfy some spiritual yearning or subjective wish.

Burke's method of rationalizing the revolt against science is ex-

remely interesting. Occasionally he uncovers his trump cards and plays with them face down on the table, without any great pretense of logical justification. The scientific rationalization, he believes, must be corrected by a move "in the direction of the anthropomorphic or poetic." Poetry by taking the place of religion may yet save the world. The philosophic corrective that he envisages would derive support from biology and would also satisfy pragmatic needs. A rationale of art—art in its widest sense as an art of living—would thus supplant an inadequate scientific rationalization. Why should the universe, he asks, be forced to fit into a man-made system of communication, "particularly when there is so strongly a *creative* or poetic quality about its goings-on"? One stops to wonder whether the philosophic corrective he so earnestly recommends is not man-made, too.

Perhaps the weakest, the least convincing part of Burke's work is that which seeks to overthrow the Goliath of science. It has become fashionable among a number of metropolitan critics to attack the scientific spirit. The truth is that science and art have no quarrel with each other. What possible objection can there be against an increase of knowledge? It is sheer sentimentalism to assert that the progress of science is inimical to the growth of culture and art. It may prove inimical to a certain kind of art, which then becomes obsolete, but it compensates by opening new continents of thought for artistic exploration and development. It is a powerful testimony to the influence of science that critics like Krutch and Burke oppose its extension. That the protest against science springs from an emotional source, that it is motivated by the desire to reassert the freedom of the will, is indicated by Burke's sudden leap from a corrective philosophy of science to a militant Marxist gospel.

III

This apostle of linguistic skepticism announces, without apparently perceiving the incongruity involved, that "the only coherent and organized movement making for the subjection of the technological genius to humane ends is that of Communism." The fundamental criteria of communism, he has discovered, have a "highly humanistic or poetic nature." That the process of political conversion was not a

painless one may be seen by a consideration of his view on the economic interpretation of art in *Counter-Statement*. Though he then conceded that the economic attack upon art contained a grain of truth, he assailed the economic critics for transforming economics into cause and art into effect. Art was not merely a reflection of political and economic forces.

The pressure of the age has driven many able critics, not in the least fitted for such a task, into the field of socio-economic speculation and analysis. In *Counter-Statement*, Burke is manfully laboring to solve all our economic ills. He engages in an extended discussion of industrialism, the agrarian ideology, capitalism, the dole, technological unemployment, and so on, all of which he associates with his central issue. It is the duty of the artist, he declares, to set himself in opposition to the ominous trend of industrialism. The innovation of the artist must reside in providing a cultural counterpart of our industrial, mechanized régime. If mechanization makes society disastrously complex, then "the aesthetic must serve as anti-mechanization, the corrective of the practical." To illustrate the constructive aspect of his anti-industrial program, he suggests that some efficacious means of redistributing wealth be devised. The wholesale application of the dole, he is convinced, will eliminate the misery of joblessness and guarantee a minimum subsistence. His whole program at this time may be summed up as follows: The machine is powerful enough to survive and prosper of itself; no philosophy of efficiency is required to support the menace of overproduction. The counter principle of inefficiency must therefore be invoked to prevent the machine from becoming too powerful.

Then, in his latest book, he abruptly abandons his "romantic" opposition to the machine. He has suddenly discovered that communism is the way and the light. But the description of that discovery is neither sudden nor brief. Burke goes through a lengthy, elaborate ordeal of verbal contortions to explain the how and why of his political conversion. It is not with him, he assures us, a personal problem but a solution of all critical problems. He is concerned primarily with a philosophy of being, with the development of a norm based on the assumption that there is a universal biological constant. Since a sound system of communication cannot be devel-

oped within a society ruled by economic warfare, society must become economically as well as spiritually communistic. A master purpose must be defined and put into practice integrating the conflicting whirl of nationalities and cultures. The future will witness the growth of the "associative, or congregational state."

Deflected by the Marxian outlook and by the philosophy of instrumentalism, Burke struggles to formulate an occupational morality. Action involves choice, it is fundamentally ethical, ethics being conceived instrumentally as the choice of means. Since poetry is also ethical in nature, he maintains that the ethical is integrally linked with the communicative or creative process. Every form of universe-building, he insists, is ethical. Burke at this point forsakes his linguistic skepticism and gives too wide a latitude to the meaning of the term "ethical." What is ethical to one group with a particular psychosis may be anathema to another group with a different and perhaps opposed set of values. To apply the ethical concept to any method of selecting means, regardless of its efficacy or social import, is to strip the word of its concrete, relativistic meaning. Burke, significantly enough, formulates an occupational morality in order to pave the way for his assertion of faith in the poetic metaphor. Man in contemporary society is unable to achieve spiritual co-ordination. Without some master purpose to guide and control his thinking, he cannot achieve a stable and harmonious culture. "In other words, *freedom* must be defined by *purpose*. . . . A Communist movement can provide such a master purpose."

Since all life is based on some fiction, we must proceed to construct a universe of values satisfactory to human needs. Burke emphasizes the thought that the ethical perspective through which one views the universe is itself part of the universe. "To live is to have a vocation, and to have a vocation is to have an ethics or scheme of values." Moreover, as it seeks to communicate itself, our point of view will become increasingly objective. It will have to do so in order to overcome the recalcitrance it encounters. Determinism he condemns on the ground that it is too mechanical. It neglects to point out that a point of view, once in operation, introduces a new causal factor. The ultimate metaphor for discussing the universe and man's place in it "must be the poetic or dramatic metaphor."

Thus Burke gravitates irresistibly towards communism because it seems to be a rationalization in harmony with the poetic metaphor. It offers man a socially healthy and organic vocation. It enables man to accommodate the machine to his fundamental needs. Communism once established as a way of life, "the poetic metaphor would be the best guide (indeed the only conceivable guide) in shaping the new pieties of living." His book, which began with a plea for skepticism, ends on a mystical note.

IV

One may well ask: What has all this to do with literary criticism? In a period of ideological dissension and economic instability, many critics have been driven to the desperate expedient not only of re-examining their critical assumptions and arranging them in some new and more satisfying philosophy, but also of playing the part of social and political engineers. They have experienced the urgent need of proclaiming their political faith, of settling once for all the problems that perplex the world. Obviously such a point of view leads to a circuitous detour, an elaborate system of rationalization—the attempt to translate literary criticism in terms of politics and economics. Not that such intellectual excursions are without their value; they do help the critic to think clearly on certain vital contemporary issues, they expand the limits of his mental horizon, they liberate him from narrow aesthetic preconceptions, from considering art exclusively as a thing-in-itself. But if sociological criticism has its advantages, it also works decided harm when carried to extremes. It transforms criticism into a department of the "dismal science." It converts critical issues into a political debate.

Burke is too honest a thinker to embrace communism directly on emotional grounds; it takes him a long time before he can logically convince himself that Marx provides the only feasible solution. At heart he is a relativist; his essential skepticism will force him to modify his views—at least as far as literature is concerned. When the economic crisis is ended, when the contemporary tension is eased, he will probably return to his first love—literary criticism.

He is most at home in the realm of esthetic criticism. He has consistently sought to evolve a comprehensive philosophy of art. In examining the nature of the creative process, he has rightly taken

exception to the current tendency which restricts self-expression to the spontaneous utterance. For the self-expression of the artist consists not in voicing emotions but in arousing them in others—that is to say, in communication.

As a critic, Burke is particularly interested in the problem of communication. The essence of communication lies in socialization. Thought is not only a prelude to action; it is in itself a form of action. Since the artist is a member of a cultural group in which he functions and to which his work is addressed, he too deals with the "occupational psychosis." By building and manipulating the intellectual superstructure, he succeeds in fathering "the appropriate habit-patterns useful to his particular economic system." Marxism and instrumentalism are thus reconciled. This thesis, however, requires considerable modification if it is to stand the test of empirical investigation. Exactly how is the artist involved in this process? Does he consciously manipulate certain cultural elements because he is closely bound up with economic society? If so, what is the precise nature of his relation to society? What habit-patterns does he father by his artistic contribution? Burke speaks of a capitalistic, monetary, agrarian, individualist, proletarian, and technological psychosis. For a critic employed in extracting the meaning of meaning, the use of such abstractions is rather mystifying. The economic interpretation of literature confuses rather than clarifies the central critical issue.

The method which Burke uses with greatest effect is to turn accepted linguistic and conceptual categories upside down and inside out. Regardless of how a process has been labeled or a belief formed, he examines it in a new light. Words are symbols, not concrete fragments of reflected reality. In this way he piles up a miscellaneous assortment of incongruities. This tendency, though it is part of the present confused social order, has been a salutary influence in that it has encouraged a critical interpretative attitude. "The myriad orientations will be tragically wasted, the genius of one of the world's most vigorous centuries will be allowed to go unused, unless we can adopt its very welter of interpretations as skeptical grounding for our own certainties." That this is as yet far removed from a positive affirmation is evident in the adjective "skeptical." He hopes, however, that the deliberate cultivation of planned in-

congruity will result in a definite gain. Every conventional linkage, he urges, should be broken and reassembled in a new empirical linkage. Opposites, even the seemingly fantastic and absurd, should be magnified. Exploration may lead to momentous discoveries. The mind must be freed from fixed associations, from traditional methods of inquiry. It must start afresh, even to the extent of adopting postulates known to be false. Such a method will no doubt yield novel and perhaps fruitful conclusions, but it may be carried too far and then it culminates in a gargyle intellectualism. The juggling of concepts may simply result in the canonization of new concepts, equally confusing and inapplicable.

Burke's relation to Pater is too striking to be missed. Stylistically, temperamentally, even aesthetically, the two have much in common. In both are evident the same acute critical faculty, the same love of fine distinctions, of complex ideas neatly resolved, the same passion for the exact phrase. If Pater wrote fiction as though he were writing essays, Burke writes criticism as if he were writing a kind of mathematical, ritualistic poetry. What he says of Pater applies also to his own work—namely, that Pater wrote "as a scholar, interested vitally in the mechanism of his sentences, using words with an almost philological emphasis." And again the parallel holds when he says that Pater manifested "that philosophic—or perhaps, in the truest sense, cultured—turn of mind which finds the specific interesting only through its correlation with the general."

He parts company with Pater in his confident reliance on skepticism as a method and a state of mind. Like Gide, he would approve of humanizing the condition of doubt. He is strongly in sympathy with any movement which is dissociative, experimental, plagued by conflict and contradiction. Before he had allied himself with communism, he could write: "Since the body is dogmatic, a generator of belief, society might be benefited by the corrective of a disintegrating art, which converts each simplicity into a complexity, which ruins the possibility of ready hierarchies, which concerns itself with the problematical, the experimental, and thus by implication works corrosively upon those expansionistic certainties preparing the way for our social cataclysms." This might very well serve as a statement of his critical method. To work by contrarieties and in-

congruities, to pit opposites one against the other, to throw open the whole question of value—that is his favorite method of attack. In *Counter-Statement* he argued that it was possible to accept the unknown, the contingent without loss of balance or a paralysis of the springs of action. "This state of technical apprehension can be a norm, and certainly an aesthetic norm." That is to say, for him, at one stage of his development, a state of suspended judgment, an attitude of provisional doubt, is not only congenial, but a source of stimulation; it provides a sense of adventure, a feeling that one is living dangerously; it makes possible at the same time a freer and more accurate critical evaluation.

His work, however, suffers—and was bound to suffer—from the defects of its primary virtues. It is too technical and abstract in its operations to reach a wide audience. Every sentence posits a problem, forms a link in a closely-knit logical chain, intrudes a doubt, shatters a privileged truth. So deep-seated, so pervasive is his skepticism as applied to social, philosophic, and linguistic matters, that he erects no constructive system of his own. Despite its communistic conclusions, *Permanence and Change* is the breviary of skepticism. Terms are defined and redefined, placed in novel juxtaposition with remote or related terms, viewed from difficult angles of vision, till they lose their original and familiar connotations. Incongruity becomes a repetitive device, a logical trick which, however effective in exploding certain dogmas, affords no true perspective. He has failed as yet to build the skeptical grounding for that ideological synthesis which is the crying need of our time.

THE YEOMANRY OF DIXIE

JOSIAH MOFFATT

WHITESIDE & Marion's Store, which was also the community post-office, was situated a few hundred yards south of the old William Moffatt stand on the Charlotte-Columbia highway. Because of rival country stores and the constantly growing importance of Chester and Rock Hill as business centers, this firm did not enjoy the great volume of trade that had enriched its predecessor of antebellum days. Nevertheless, these popular merchants did a good business, when one considers the comparative poverty that prevailed after the War.

During the long, hot summer afternoons, the farmers of the neighborhood forgathered on the store piazza for the exchange of ideas. Crop conditions and weather indications having been thoroughly canvassed, they were ready to plunge into the discussion of local, state, and national affairs. *The Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier*, subscribed for by the firm, was the only daily that came to the Lewisville post-office. The weekly *Chester (S. C.) Reporter* was relied on for local news, and some of the farmers subscribed to the weekly *Courier Journal* because of their admiration for "Marse Henry" Watterson and his "star-eyed goddess" of reform. One of the partners, Newton Whiteside or Taylor Marion, would read aloud bits of news from the daily, eliciting much witty, racy, and sometimes caustic comment from his auditors. Politics and religion furnished unailing themes for spirited debate, which, however, rarely resulted in harsh words or hard feelings. The latest neighborhood scandal also received its share of attention, but this topic was immediately dropped when ladies or children appeared on the scene.

All conversation was punctuated with plentiful expectorations of tobacco juice. The women-folk, hating to see their hearthstones and mantel-facings besplattered with the amber fluid, bestowed marked approval on the occasional paragon who did not chew, but their

enthusiasm was not shared by the men. The fellow who met you frequently at church, shop, or store, yet failed to ask for a sample bite from your plug of tobacco, was looked upon with a measure of suspicion, if not contempt, by the great brotherhood of spitters. Many ministers and doctors were devotees of the weed, and it was no uncommon spectacle to see a wearer of the cloth dispose of his "quid" as he mounted the pulpit steps.

For me the most thrilling of all subjects broached by the impromptu forum was "The War." With few exceptions every middle-aged man present had been in the army, and I was an eager listener to their animated discussions of the "late unpleasantness" and the chief actors in that great drama. Almost daily the battle-scarred veterans would live over again the hectic scenes of warfare.

To arms, to arms! The bugle blast is heard
And every man with martial frenzy stirred.

Tales of hairbreadth escapes and heroic exploits were recounted with a Homeric simplicity and vividness of detail. Interspersed with these were incidents illustrative of the lighter side of army life and anecdotes concerning the ridiculous antics of the irrepressible clowns and practical jokers of which every army has its quota. It was the unanimous verdict of these unofficial juries that, if Lee had had half as many men as Grant, and his meager supplies of musty corn meal and rancid bacon had held out a little while longer, the scene staged at Appomattox would have had a different setting and the war a different ending. While this was not the arrogant boasting of ignorant fools but the sober conviction of brave and honest men, it did not involve any unkind criticism of the boys that wore the blue. These unreconstructed "Rebs" had the highest respect for the soldiers who composed the rank and file of the Northern armies. They never questioned the courage and devotion of their opponents except in the case of foreign mercenaries, some of whom, when made prisoners, offered with a shrug to "sell" their services to the South.

The veterans did not blame the farcical régime of Reconstruction upon the brave men who had faced them on the battlefield. They well knew that certain stubborn and inimical politicians of the North, hell-bent on wreaking vengeance on the "conquered provinces," were

the real culprits. They realized that the despised carpetbaggers and scalawags were merely the ignoble tools of that group of hateful politicians which controlled Congress. They could even exercise a feeling of amused tolerance for the poor, simple-minded and bewildered darkies who, led by wily, loud-mouthed politicians of their own race and incited to insubordination by the scalawags (native renegade whites), left their crops to "go to grass" while they attended caucuses, conventions, political rallies, and elections. The newly enfranchised Negroes and their white leaders called themselves Republicans, but were stigmatized as "Radicals" by the Democrats of the South. The native-born radical leaders, white and black, were in turn controlled by those political charlatans aptly styled "carpetbaggers." These smart rascals descended upon the stricken South with a change of underclothes and an extra pair of socks in their carpetbags and, after an orgy of loot and exploitation, returned North with trunks full of greenbacks and state bonds.

But the "wool hat boys" continued to work hard and wait patiently, confident that time would heal their economic and political wounds as it had their physical. These brave, simple-hearted men, the true heroes of the Civil War, were, with few exceptions, poor men of rugged, pioneer stock. They were of the same sturdy breed that whipped the British at Kings Mountain and The Cowpens. It was just such an untrained, citizen soldiery that stubbornly disputed every foot of ground with Cornwallis at Camden, even after the ignominious flight of General Gates from the battlefield, leaving his army to its fate.

It is a well-known fact that, if the South had been dependent on the beneficiaries of the slave system for filling and replenishing the ranks of her armies, the war could not have lasted longer than the three months contemplated by Abraham Lincoln when he made the first call for volunteers. No army was ever composed of finer material. Her splendid yeomanry, the gallant poor boys of the Old South, stood loyally by her to the bitter end. Even after they had come to realize, in spite of the lies and sophistries of political demagogues, that the abolition of slavery would really benefit their class, they never wavered in their devotion to the "Lost Cause." The statement that it was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight" may

sound trite, but it expresses the truth in a nutshell. The menace to state rights was the ostensible *casus belli*, but the practical issue at stake was the preservation of slavery.

Let all due credit be given to the scions of wealthy and aristocratic families who poured out their blood and treasure with the noblest abandon in defense of what they believed to be their constitutional rights. Only a small percentage, however, of the armies of the South belonged to this privileged class, and the great majority of the commissioned officers in the early days of the war were of aristocratic lineage. While this was practically true of all regimental officers, there were numerous instances, particularly in the staunchly democratic Piedmont region of the Carolinas, of the election of company officers by the men from their own number. Many of these made brilliant records and were afterwards promoted to high positions. There was a fearful mortality among commissioned officers, however, and it was necessary to replace them by "noncoms" who had come up from the ranks. Many of those who received commissions at the opening of the war had received their military training at the Citadel, The King's Mountain Military School, The Virginia Military Institute, Bingham's, and other military schools of the South. Besides, there were a large number of West Pointers, exclusive of the officers of the United States regular army, who resigned at the outbreak of the war to offer their services to the Confederacy.

Of course, too, there were many rich men who entered the ranks and were merged into the indistinguishable mass of common soldiers. Most of them proved to be good sports, burned their ships behind them, and fraternized with their new associates on terms of perfect equality. Occasionally there was found one who could not adapt himself readily to the lowly tasks of a buck private. In other words, to use our expressive modern slang, he "couldn't take it." An authentic instance will illustrate this point. A wealthy planter from the Up-Country enlisted, and was sent with other recruits to Sullivan's Island to be drilled. His drill master was a cadet from the Citadel, Charleston's famous military school. This high-strung gentleman, since childhood days, when he yielded a nominal obedience to an indulgent father, had never taken orders from any man. On the contrary, his was the habit of command, for his plantation was an absolute mon-

archy and he the king over many slaves and obsequious white tenants. He proved to be more awkward than the ordinary run of raw recruits, drawing many stinging rebukes and caustic comments from the fledgling in command. It was intolerably galling to his pride to be harried, bullied, and even cursed by a sixteen-year-old schoolboy. His smouldering resentment finally burst all bounds, and he slapped the face of his cocky little tormentor in the presence of the squad. A drumhead court-martial took all the circumstances under consideration and, finding that he was temperamentally unfit for a soldier's life, permitted him to go home and hire a substitute.

In the early days of the war a substitute could be hired without difficulty. He was usually some man or youth in urgent need of money who, because of age or for some other reason, was not subject to draft. He might be engaged for a limited period or for the duration of the war. His principal must pay him well and, when he had a family, provide for it liberally during his absence and pay a more or less considerable lump sum as compensation in case of his death. The rich man who chose to do his fighting by proxy might not incur the contempt that was heaped upon the poor wretch who committed mayhem upon his own body in order to evade the draft; nevertheless, he lost, in a measure, the respect and esteem of his less fortunate neighbors.

The most despised class of evaders, however, was composed of the poltroons who skulked in the swamps, prowling in bands and preying on the meager resources of women and children whose natural protectors had gone to the front. This last-named class of draft dodgers must not be confounded with those conscientious objectors who could command sympathy and respect. There were very few conscientious objectors in the South, because of a paucity of membership in religious cults such as the Quakers and others who opposed war on any grounds. Besides, sincere conscientious objectors do not run away and hide. They stand up boldly for their principles and face the consequences.

Not infrequently, in the course of the first year, before the South had come to a clear realization of the desperate nature of the enterprise upon which she had launched, and while many of her youth still regarded the war as a glamorous adventure, some darling of the

gods would sally forth to "tote" a musket or rattle a saber, accompanied by a *body servant*. His arrival was the signal for all the practical jokers in camp to meet in solemn conclave and map out a plan of campaign. A pair of them would hover around the tent of the newcomer, peering curiously into the face of the embarrassed darkey and discussing the situation in an unrestrained manner.

"Johnny, what you reckon the critter's here for?"

"Why, Buddy, don't you know? The nigger is the baby's nurse, of course."

"Oh, I see! He warms the little darlin's milk for him and puts him in his little bed at night."

With such merciless chaff would his comrades in arms make life miserable for the pampered youth. Self-appointed vigilantes compelled him to perform routine camp duties with his own lily-white hands, while his valet loafed and watched him work. Soon, very soon, the crestfallen young sprig would ship his body servant back home or banish him to the precincts of the company mess tent, where he could make himself useful washing pots and pans and peeling potatoes for the company at large. The exploits of the Southern gentry, their daring and brilliant leadership, their splendid, even reckless courage, have been justly celebrated in song and story for seven decades. It does seem now that the "Unknown Soldier" of the South should come in for a larger measure of recognition than has been accorded him in the past. His father probably owned no slaves at all and counted his acres, if a freeholder, by the quarter section and its subdivisions, rather than by the square mile. Frequently he was a landless tenant or a hired man in the employ of some great planter. It was of such men, already inured to hardship and accustomed to toil, that the rank and file of the Southern armies was composed.

I would not subtract one iota from the matchless fame of our great generals, but let us not forget that, after all, it was the "wool hat boys" who bore the brunt of the fighting and made their armies almost unconquerable. The stone wall behind "Stonewall" Jackson which rendered him invincible on the battlefield was a handpicked army of soldiers as fine as any the world had ever seen. One out of every four of the soldiers of the Confederacy made the supreme sacrifice. A large proportion of those who survived were crippled

for life. They had undergone unbelievable hardships in camp, field, and prison, yet in 1865 they returned to their long-neglected, often devastated homes to make light of their experience and laugh at their sufferings. They were prepared to meet the dark days ahead with the same stout hearts, the same invincible courage and cheerful faces that they had shown to the enemy on the battlefield and in the trenches.

We children used to play the game of war in my uncle's front yard. We had no tin soldiers, no toy cannon, or other paraphernalia of mimic warfare. Our armies, set up in battle array, consisted of hundreds of sticks driven into the ground on opposite sides of the walk leading from the gate to the front steps. One of my little cousins would assume the rôle of General Grant. I always insisted on being General Lee. After defying each other in loud, insulting tones, each "general" would fall upon the "enemy," waving aloft a stout bludgeon wherewith the "slaughter" was accomplished. The victor was the first to lay low every "soldier" in the opposing army. It has been true of most wars that those chiefly responsible for them had little in common with, or sympathy for, those upon whose bowed shoulders the heaviest burdens were laid. Let the history of Europe for the past thousand years bear witness. The war lords set up their human pawns without compunction to be slaughtered, just as we children in our mimic warfare stuck sticks in the ground to be knocked over. Man-power, the abundance or scarcity of "cannon-fodder," was the decisive factor in a war where other things were equal.

Because of great "progress" made in the manufacture of the implements of warfare, the development of great air fleets, armored tanks, deadly gas and whatnot, the quantity of available "cannon-fodder" may not prove so important a factor in future wars. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that the dictators of Italy and Germany are constantly urging upon their young folk the patriotic duty of early marriage and the necessity of prolific child-bearing by young mothers in order to provide adequate forces for the defense of the homelands in the future wars which they believe to be inevitable. France, whose proportionate loss of man-power exceeded that of any other nation participating in the World War, is acutely distressed over her low birth-rate. She fears that she may not be able to pro-

vide as many "sticks" to be knocked down as her opponent when war overtakes her.

General Sherman's famous aphorism "War is hell" expresses in three words a truth of universal experience to which history from the remotest times bears ample testimony. It was quite customary in ancient times for the victor to inflict ghastly cruelties upon the helpless population of an enemy's country. The expression "laying waste with fire and sword" may assume a new significance for us moderns when a wholesale destruction of life and property is being accomplished by raiding fleets of bombing airplanes.

The immediate cause of the surrender of Lee was the cutting of communications south of Richmond by raiding Federal cavalry. All hope of any relief for his half-starved army vanished. Yet it is perfectly evident that, even if the warehouses of Richmond had been bursting with provisions, Lee must have surrendered within a very short time for the simple reason that the supply of "wool hat boys" was exhausted. The gaps in his thinning ranks could no longer be filled. Had it been true that the cribs and smokehouses of the South were full to overflowing in the spring of 1865 (of course, that was not the case), still it would have been necessary literally to rob the cradle to obtain additional man-power. In *Mohun*, a romantic tale of the war that thrilled me in boyhood, John Esten Cooke painted a graphic picture of the sufferings of the soldiers in the trenches around Richmond and Petersburg during the winter of 1864-65. It was an army of ragamuffins, yet the *morale* of the boys in the trenches was not affected by their hardships. Their faith in "Uncle Robert" was most touching. With never failing enthusiasm, the thin line of scarecrows, stretched almost to the breaking point, would cheer him to the echo wherever he appeared. They still believed that their invincible hero would be able when the fateful hour arrived to wave his magic wand and drive Grant's great army out of Virginia. Their feet may have been bloody from contact with the frozen ground, but their heads were unbowed. They chuckled hoarsely as they tied up their feet in rags, comparing their situation with that of Washington's army at Valley Forge.

Rumors followed one another like wildfire up and down the forty miles of trenches. Long trains were being loaded with supplies in

the deep South and would soon be on the way under ample convoy! "Good Old Jeff! He knows what he is doing. New shoes, new shirts, new hats and uniforms in the spring, boys." It was reported that Johnson had Sherman headed off. As soon as he had cut him to pieces or forced him to surrender, he would join Lee with sixty thousand fresh troops!

There were long periods of inaction when the boys devoured whatever could be found in the way of reading-matter. Some enterprising blockade runner brought in a consignment of a cheap edition of Victor Hugo's great novel, *Les Miserables*, just off the press in England. Many copies were passed from hand to hand in the trenches until completely worn out. With grim but probably unconscious humor the boys pronounced the title "Lee's *Miserables*."

Such were the men who wept in bitterness of spirit when Lee surrendered, imagining that all was lost and they and their children were doomed thereby to an intolerable condition of hateful bondage to Northern masters. Little did they realize the truth that the collapse of the Confederacy and the death of the old régime would free them from the galling chains that custom had forged and introduce to them an era of hope and happiness hitherto denied them.

For a good many years after the war, before the arrival of the era of industrial development, the South remained a poverty-stricken region badly run down at the heels. It took the Negroes a long time to become accustomed to the novelty of freedom. For many of them it meant license to drop their hoes between grassy cotton rows whenever the fancy seized them and park their chronically weary forms beneath the shade of the old apple tree or any other convenient tree for a long after-dinner snooze.

The business of farming, upon which almost the entire population was dependent for a living, was conducted, as a rule, with wasteful inefficiency. Here and there might be found a progressive farmer who terraced his hillsides to prevent erosion, but, for the most part, there still prevailed that antiquated system, or lack of system, under which the land constantly grew poorer and poorer, being denuded of its topsoil, which was washed away into the great, ugly, yawning gullies which defaced the landscape on every side.

The farmers as a class could afford no luxuries. Their wives and

daughters were garbed in cheap calicoes during the summer and linsey-woolseys during the winter. Cotton stockings were generally worn by the ladies, and there were no fancy shades in hosiery. Plain white and black were the standard colors. The appearance of a new silk dress at church was an event of thrilling interest to the sisters present, often diverting their attention from the sermon. Hats that cost more than two or three dollars when trimmed were rarely carried by country merchants. The women's hats usually came untrimmed, and the trimming was done by the wives and daughters of the merchants, who often displayed much artistry and good taste in this work. The farmers had to be content with shoddy, ill-fitting, ready-made garments called "store clothes" for church and social functions. They wore home-made garments during the work-a-day week and did not trouble to "dress up" when they went to the store. Thus it often happened that my heroes of the store piazza were clad in hickory shirts and jean pants supported by "galluses." Most of them were shod in rough, cow-hide boots or brogans and coarse, home-knit socks usually in a state of collapse at their shoetops. Frequently they were unkempt of hair and a bit ragged of beard; but, viewed through my magic spectacles, these men who had fought the battles of Dixie loomed heroic figures clothed in the highest dignity of manhood.

In his article in *Harper's* for May, 1935, on "Huey Long and His Background," Hamilton Basso calls attention to a significant fact that has been previously noted by students of Southern history. He says, "The Civil War, as has been observed, did not free the Negro. *It did free the Southern middle class.*"* The yeomanry of Dixie, who had really fought against their own interests in seeking to perpetuate the institution of African slavery and to preserve the ancient régime of aristocratic dominance in the affairs of state, proved to be the actual beneficiaries of the war. "The Lost Cause" became the cause *won* for them. After the era of Reconstruction had run its sordid course, they awoke to a realization of their new freedom and the power that goes with numbers in a democracy. They now began to exercise those political rights which had always been theirs in theory but not in fact. Hitherto they had always obediently voted the Ticket. Now the Ticket was always dictated by the *Masters*,

* Italics are mine.

the all-powerful slave barons, to the truckling politicians and sycophants who did their bidding.

By 1890, however, the wreckage of the old régime was floating down the river of time. Powerful voices were roaring against what were regarded by the defenders of that order as the bulwarks of society. Benjamin Tillman had arisen to lead the "wool hat boys" of South Carolina to victory over their political foes. The great names of former days failed to click. The prestige of the great families was fading; the great plantations were breaking up. Aristocratic rule was discarded, and the men who formed the rank and file of the Southern armies, together with their sons, now assumed control of the political and economic destinies of the South. The social order also underwent a great, if more gradual, change. The captains of industry, the bankers, lawyers, editors, doctors, preachers, in short, the leaders in all lines of thought and endeavor in what is sometimes called the New South, for the last forty years, have been drawn from the ranks of the yeomanry of Dixie.

DESCENDANTS OF PLATO

KURT EDWARD ROSINGER

THE descendants of Plato are a strange little band of men who look back upon their progenitor with awe, admiration, and wistful envy. That Plato was great, that he still deserves to rank as the foremost philosopher of western culture, is denied by none. Nevertheless, they muse, it was a simpler task to philosophize in the golden age of philosophy. Plato was never halted in his stride by fellow thinkers with indignant accusations of ignorance. For Plato knew everything. Not that he was omniscient; there was simply so much less to know. He had at his command all the mathematics, physics, astronomy, biology, geography, economics, politics that was known in his day. He was not confronted by hormones, tensors, atomic nuclei, winged galaxies flying through non-etherized space. The realm of knowledge being greatly restricted, he, a man of titanic powers, was lord of the domain. Abused by modern specialists, frightened by the limitless possibilities of knowing, the descendants of Plato have retreated into a realm of their own, a realm which is a mystery to many who stand without and a source of derision for some who have peeked into it.

For one who recognizes both the intrinsic and practical value of philosophy, it is a source of pain to observe the degradation of this subject. Its fall from grace is due, however, to two factors. Not only is it ridiculed by many outsiders ignorant of philosophy, but also there exists a core of corruption within. In isolating themselves from the specializing branches of knowledge, by giving the impression that philosophical thinking transcends the painstaking methods of experiment, of history, and of socio-economic research, the descendants of Plato have contributed materially to the degeneration of philosophy. In this article an attempt will be made to disabuse the misinformed of this notion and to suggest to the initiate the essential purposes of philosophical investigation. An answer will be given to the oft-

repeated question: "What is philosophy?" and indirectly an answer will be given to the far more embarrassing one: "Is philosophy to be taken seriously?"

A brief and undetailed essay such as this one cannot hope to elicit an unequivocal assent from the doubter who voices the second question. These sceptics may remember their courses in philosophy as having been a jumble of words dealing with Reality, the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, with first causes and final ends, with fantastic speculations unhampered by scientific restrictions, with idealistic pronouncements upon ethical and other values. These doubters may have had so unsatisfactory an exposure to philosophy that the subject is for them a vague memory of syllogisms and the conviction that "philosophy teaches that a chair is not 'out there,' but in the mind." Or they may be genuinely repulsed by what they consider to be intellectual atrocities. To these two groups of sceptics I propose to show what the subject-matter of philosophy can be.

Any study may be approached from two points of view: the instrumental and the intrinsic. Some students are interested in a subject in so far as a knowledge of it will aid them in the study of some other work, while others are interested in the subject as an end in itself. Thus the engineer, the physicist, the astronomer studies mathematics as an instrument to be applied to engineering, physics, and astronomy. The physician studies biology, physics, and chemistry in so far as these will aid him in advancing medicine. The economist studies history and political science as aids to economics. Engineering and other physical problems require, for their solution algebra, derivatives, integrals, differential equations, etc. But interest in mathematics ceases when a facility in manipulating these concepts has been gained. On the other hand, there exist men primarily interested in special sciences as ends in themselves. Unless a subject is investigated for its own sake, it cannot be sufficiently developed for it to produce conceptual instruments to serve in other sciences. The scientist, in regard to his own subject, is not satisfied with a pragmatic knowledge of it. He wishes to delve deeper and deeper into the characteristics of his concepts in order to gain an ever clearer notion of their meaning. Thus, on the one hand, every science has its students who search in it for tools which are to be employed in the advancement of other sciences

or for practical work, and on the other hand, each science has its specialists for whom the science has essentially intrinsic worth.

There are various, equally satisfactory, ways of describing the work of the student having an intrinsic interest in a particular subject. The one chosen here is that this student's work consists in extracting the meanings of his concepts and the implications involved in his theories. By "meaning" I do not mean a dictionary definition, for such are arbitrary or conventional. I am referring to a point of view from which a student searches out hidden sub-concepts entailed by any given concept, studies the interrelationship of concepts in his field, and otherwise tries, in every way he can think, to understand and clarify his concepts. For him his subject is a more or less organized system of concepts and propositions rather than a set of instruments.

For the chemist, the meaning of potassium differs from that of the literary man or even druggist, for it includes its atomic weight, atomic number, specific gravity, possible isotopes, its atomic arrangement, melting and boiling points, its color when burning, its reactions with other chemicals, and thousands of other characteristics. Answers to all these questions constitute the *meaning* of the concept potassium. In similar manner, the psychologist, pathologist, bacteriologist, astronomer, philologist, et al., studies the meanings of the concepts which constitute his subject. The philosopher, like any other scholar, pursues the meaning of concepts. Approaching scholarship and research from this angle, let us see what constitutes philosophy. In discovering this, we shall also be able to see what value, if any, there is to philosophy. For the time being let us forget about philosophical textbooks, lectures, and sermons, about systems of philosophy and famous philosophers. In the end, I hope, it will be seen that there have been great philosophers and great philosophies in accordance with our subsequent discussion, though many a philosopher has lived and died under the title of scientist.

To inhibit ambiguity and to begin our discourse on a firm foundation of definition, it might be well to claim that there is no such subject "philosophy"; there are only "philosophies of ——." A philosophy is primarily a logical analysis of the basic concepts of the field of study whose philosophy it is, and an excavation of the basic as-

sumptions of that field together with an attempt at expressing that field, or a restricted part of it, as a rigorous deductive system. To this primary task of a philosophy may be added the axiological one of stating and interpreting the purpose and value of the given field; in short, to raise that field to self-consciousness. But a philosophy, as a field of thought in which the thinker tries to gain a synoptic view of Reality (note the capital R), or through which he tries to discover the ultimate nature of the universe, is as dead as are those thinkers of centuries ago who, because of the limited amount of knowledge at hand, could be said to have known everything that was to be known. Today it is altogether impossible for any one man to make wholesale generalities of universal range upon the results of scientific investigation with the expectation of arriving at judgments concerning the universe which demand attention. Not only has knowledge as a whole, but also its various branches increased to such proportions that no one can encompass them in one intelligence. No mathematician can be at the same time a scholar of physics; no physicist can know, in the strict sense of the word, the vast realms of knowledge of physics and chemistry. A historian is of necessity a tyro in economics or political science except in so far as these other disciplines touch here and there upon his special topics. Not only is this the case, but, moreover, scientists within their own domains are further restricted. The geometer has only a speaking acquaintance with analysis, and, more likely than not, is ignorant of the Theory of Numbers or of Probability. The theoretical physicist is often a lost child in the laboratory. The biologist is called such not because he has mastered biology, but because he is an expert in some branch of genetics, or physiology, or plant pathology. The historian is not merely limited to his period, but to one or two characteristics of it. Science is increasing with extreme rapidity, and by "science" the reader will have noted I mean the generic concept including not merely mathematics and the natural sciences, but also the social sciences, history, philology, and even literary studies. If, then, the subject of philosophy is to be taken seriously, how can it possibly be still considered as the interpretation of knowledge, as the means for relating the multitudinous fields of precise intellectual investigation, as the source of light for viewing reality as a whole?

Serious philosophizing, reaching conclusions which demand intellectual respect and give intellectual satisfaction, cannot be based upon superficial knowledge. If there is no subject which is mere philosophy, then there is also no rational activity which is mere philosophizing. A thinker must always, when philosophizing, philosophize *about* something. The philosopher who knows no science well is limited to idle, barren speculation. He cannot even make creditable interpretations of the history of philosophy—that chief source of subject-matter for courses in philosophy and for papers on philosophy—for philosophies, as its history shows, have invariably been interlaced with the sciences or the social forces of their days. Without a sound knowledge of Greek science and life, Plato and Aristotle can be understood only superficially. What is more, the source of the differences between these two men lies not directly exposed in their philosophies, but rather is deeply imbedded in the contrasting natures and methods of mathematics and biology respectively. Plato and Aristotle would not have had the logics and metaphysics which they had, had they not, respectively, been influenced by their training in mathematics and biology. Nor will a book for laymen, however well written, give a philosopher sufficient understanding of the subject-matter and methods of mathematics and biology so that he can make a significant study of these two masters of Greek thought. It is too well known to be stressed that there exists no short-cut to knowledge. Mathematics can be learned only by the slow painful method of deducing theorems and by solving problems. Not the best treatises on scientific method will ever give a philosopher a satisfactory grasp of inductive processes. Whoever wishes to know these must learn them in the laboratory.

The example here given is not unique. The Cartesian philosophy was not spontaneously generated, but emerged directly from the scientific attitude of the age which gave birth to Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and others. Leibnitz's theory of the monad is a blood brother to the infinitesimal calculus. The *Principia* of Newton contains much profound philosophy. These men, in turn, helped determine subsequent philosophical thought.

The essence of the point of view here presented is that before one can properly do research in philosophy, one must not only be trained

in philosophical method but also must know some branch of learning thoroughly enough so as to have material about which to philosophize. I do not wish to give the impression that a philosopher must be a super-intellect who has grasped not only an entire domain of knowledge as a scientist but also superimposes upon this a training in philosophical methods and an ability at philosophical insight. I claim that the philosopher, like other scientists, must have gained a firm foundation of a field of study, must have acquainted himself with its various chief divisions until he has a relatively good grasp of them, and then should specialize in one of them, particularly the philosophical one. Thus a student, in becoming a mathematician, studies algebra; classical, analytical, modern, and non-Euclidean geometry; and analysis, namely the infinitesimal calculus, differential equations, and the theory of functions. After he has learned the more important theorems of these divisions and has trained himself in solving representative problems, he then chooses one of these divisions as the one which he wishes to master, or picks out a related field such as Probability Theory, Theory of Numbers, or the Theory of Aggregates. The philosopher, who has chosen mathematics as his medium, should have the same general training as other mathematicians, but instead of specializing in a scientific sense, he turns his attention to the philosophical problems of mathematics. These problems are of the type mentioned in our definition of philosophy.

Perhaps a brief illustration of the type of questions asked and answered in the philosophy of mathematics would be desirable. Similar topics arise in the philosophies of the other subjects.

The child in its home is taught to count; in school is introduced to addition, subtraction, and the intricacies of the multiplication table; and from there on to higher and higher mathematics, to more and more complex mathematical structures from simple fractions to integral equations and beyond. The ordinary integer is the starting point. But in contradistinction to the metaphorical adjective "higher," there exists a realm of mathematical reasoning "lower" than this locus of origin—a subterranean region which is the foundation upon which the huge structure of mathematics rests. It is not merely a matter of mathematical interest to know that $7 + 5 = 12$; it is also desirable to know the meaning of 7, 5, and 12. It is laudable

intellectual curiosity which investigates the nature and properties of "+" and "=", and which tries to discover if, and if so why, $7 + 5$ always equals 12. This same curiosity delves into the roots of mathematics to discover how these roots are located and arranged, in other words, what the assumptions are from which mathematics is deduced. If the propositions of mathematics are universal in scope, if they are independent of space and time and human experience, in short a priori, then a clear and distinct understanding of the assumptions is of major mathematical importance. If, on the other hand, as some thinkers have claimed, mathematics is based upon experience, and its universal character is merely appearance, it is an essential mathematico-philosophical problem to determine or disprove this strange contention. Moreover, if the former view is accepted that mathematics is universal and independent of experience, the question arises whether the assumptions from which it is deduced are necessary ones or whether they are arbitrary. If necessary, then why are they so; and if arbitrary, then what other sets of assumptions could be concocted which would yield the same mathematical structure? But is the conventional mathematical structure the only interesting, practical, valuable one?

These problems, which are applicable to mathematics as a whole, pertain as well to branches of it. Thus men, searching the foundations of geometry for an explicit delineation of its assumptions, struck upon the now famous non-Euclidean geometries whose worth, though different from conventional geometry, has been established. Other men again, such as Huntington, Veblen, Forder, Hilbert, deduced from different approaches distinct geometries equivalent, however, to that of Euclid. Many other branches of mathematics have been attacked in the same way.

Nor has the field as a whole been neglected. The great English mathematician-philosophers, Whitehead and Russell, have published the standard work on the subject in which they deduce ordinary mathematics from a set of arbitrarily chosen postulates stated in terms of logical concepts. The philosophy behind their mathematical and logical deductions has not remained unchallenged, with the result that other mathematicians, in their rôles as philosophers, have attacked the Whitehead-Russell point of view. There are, in fact, three major

schools of the philosophy of mathematics, namely the logistic (Whitehead-Russell), formalistic (Hilbert), and intuitionistic (Brouwer) schools.

Discovering assumptions or stating postulates is by no means the only task of the philosophy of mathematics. It was previously mentioned that, mathematically speaking, it is at least as interesting to discover and define the meanings of 7, 5, 12, +, =, as to establish the proposition $7 + 5 = 12$. For an intrinsic understanding of mathematics it is essential that one knows what a number is; in what respect a cardinal differs from an ordinary number; what the meaning of that curious number 0 is; what is really meant by the three dots after a series such as 0, 1, 2, 3, . . . ; whether every number represented by those three dots is a finite integer; whether there are transfinite integers (cardinal or ordinal); whether a finite or transfinite integer, for which no aggregate whose number it is is known, has rational significance; and scores of other questions concerning integers alone. Likewise there are questions and problems concerning rational numbers, irrationals, complex, algebraic numbers in general, and transcendental numbers. Again the question of uniqueness arises. Is there only one definition for each of these which is consistent with familiar mathematics? If there are several definitions, apparently irreconcilable, how do they affect the structure of mathematics?

Thus far only the most obvious problems of the philosophy of mathematics have been enumerated. There are many other concepts of mathematics, including operations and relations, which have been or can be studied philosophically. Then, also, there are the logical paradoxes which nestle among the roots of mathematics and which cannot be haughtily ignored.

This illustration serves as a sketchy survey of the topics of the philosophy of mathematics. In addition, axiological interests rightfully occupy a place in this branch of philosophy. Philosophers may consider the value of pure mathematics, its place in civilization, the justification of applying mathematics to the world of physical objects (a topic which is also included in, for instance, the philosophy of physics), and its great formal beauty. But even here the philosopher must know mathematics from within.

The philosophy of other subjects differs from that of mathematics

in so far as the basic concepts of the other subjects differ from those of mathematics. But the method and point of view remain the same: an analysis of basic concepts to elicit hidden meanings, a dissecting out of assumptions with, perhaps, a subsequent systematization, and the evaluating of results in the light of human achievement and intellectual ideals. The reader may ask where the work of the scientist ends and that of the philosopher begins. The answer is that there is no sharp demarcation between a field of study and its philosophy. The difference lies in approach rather than subject.

Thus far philosophical studies have been considered in their most restricted sense. However, the investigation of the foundations and logical structures of systems yields the information that there exist concepts and forms shared by several of these. Unfortunately, a discussion of "various interpretations of system-forms" is too technical to be included in this article. Suffice it to say that distinct domains of investigation do possess structures in common, or structures enjoying important similarities, which on the surface and cloaked in different material garbs may appear totally disparate. A knowledge of these similarities or identities throws considerable light upon the interrelations of sciences; statements concerning these interrelations are based upon careful rigorous logical analysis rather than upon slipshod superficial studies of more or less popular surveys of various disciplines. If metaphysics, which is the heart of philosophy, is in any proper sense to yield a synoptic view of knowledge and reality, its portal of entry into this problem lies here.

Furthermore, a classification of the concepts of the sciences shows that there exists a class of concepts which are of inestimable importance to scientific research, but which are of such generic scope that they are not peculiar to any one science; rather are they common to all fields of study and even to general discourse. These, which are called generic concepts, are so deeply imbedded in our consciousness that their meanings are accepted without question and are left unstudied by all specializing sciences. Examples of these are relation, substance, matter, implies, assumption, class, event, cause, effect, existence, nothing (there are, for instance, several important and distinct meanings of both existence and nothing), attribute, motion, time, space (one must distinguish clearly between psychological, physical,

and mathematical space), infinite, consistent, adequate, fact, knowledge, true, valid, and many others. Some of these can best be analyzed in connection with one or another discipline, but strictly speaking they belong to none of them.

In these days of more and more minute specialization, it is indeed desirable for there to be some means of reuniting knowledge into a unity. To do this has always been a goal of philosophy. Now, however, that it has become impossible, because of the increase of knowledge, to unite it by a study of the major fields, we can hope to accomplish a worthwhile unification only by examining their logical roots. Hence I repeat that metaphysics, as the unifying science, must confine itself to the study of scientific interrelationships based upon identity and similarity of structure and upon analyses of generic concepts. Should it consent to these limitations, it will not be speculative nor will it make blind leaps to immense generalities, but rather will move slowly and accurately to conclusions dictated by inexorable logical laws. Then will its conclusions again receive the respectful attention and intellectual admiration of scholars and scientists who at present hold it in contempt.

Speculation is the contaminating agent in philosophy. The desire quickly to reach conclusions of magnificent scope, to describe the universe in relatively few concepts as an ordered pattern, and to explain its existence in terms of purpose, first principles, and final ends, has lured into the realm of philosophy men who reject disinterested scientific methods for poetic imaginations. Many of these speculate upon the ultimate nature of things for the pure joy of soaring dizzily through the intellectual ether; others, for the more sinister purpose of hiding preconceived notions and beloved prejudices within the umbrous depths of abstruse words and ponderous reasoning. These latter are men who have not the courage to confess their faith in mystic intuition or their fear of unforeseen results. Among both groups of men there have been and still are thinkers of acute mental powers, and because of them philosophical speculation is distinctly dangerous. Speculation is a pleasant exercise in which intelligent people may indulge during after-dinner conversation. But it should not be taken seriously.

I realize the importance of imagination and intellectual courage

to science in its formulation of hypotheses. The mind of the scientist must direct his research and blaze new trails. But speculation, as the term is used here, is not intellectual courage but rather intellectual sloth. By its means generalities are asserted without their grounds being examined; from a few instances of experience characteristics are predicated of the universe; the principles of one discipline are carelessly applied to another, as if one should argue man's moral freedom from Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy. Pegasus will not carry his rider to knowledge. For philosophy again to join the ranks of respected and honored mental disciplines, it must satisfy itself with a position as humble as are those of the other sciences.

It is not my intention to give the impression that no philosophical results of value have been reached since the rapid expansion of scientific knowledge except when the studies have been explicitly directed from the point of view here advocated. Our view, however, is strictly modern, generated by contemporary movements in sciences, just as every philosophical outlook is the product of its period. Nevertheless, the claim that the central problems of philosophy are the analysis of basic concepts and the examination of assumptions and of systematic structures could not have been made had that powerful tool of conceptual analysis, symbolic logic, not been invented. The objection may be offered that the great philosophers of former centuries did not possess it, yet produced fecund reasoning. This is freely admitted, but I am urging that philosophers break with the traditions of the past in order to enjoy the fruits of the present. Fortunately for the subject, the opinions here stated are slowly gaining acceptance. Here and there philosophers are accepting the view that logical analyses constitute the essence of philosophy. But far too many of them, and especially the writers of textbooks, are still bound to the old barren tradition.

Clearly, this paper expresses the views of a non-conformist. These views are antagonistic towards speculation and deplore the contentment with which many philosophers accept their own immature scientific knowledge. Again I wish to point out that the term "science" is used with a wide connotation so that it shall include any rational systematic discipline. The study of mathematics, or physics, or biology is not a necessary preparation for philosophizing, but the study

of some science is essential. Unless a philosopher has more than a nodding acquaintance with psychology, sociology, and ethnology, his contribution to ethics will be insignificant and baseless speculation; if he is not deeply immersed in the arts, his thoughts about aesthetics are of necessity trivial or the reiterations of others.

Indeed, too much philosophy is reiteration; there is not enough forward movement. Too much emphasis is placed upon the study of the old masters. No other subject is so concerned with its history. Too many teachers merely repeat what others have said before them. They fail to realize that philosophies are alive and in constant change. They are filled with as much vitality as are the sciences for which they constitute so essential a part. As Whitehead, in his *Science and the Modern World*, has written: "If science is not to degenerate into a medley of *ad hoc* hypotheses, it must become philosophical and must enter upon a thorough criticism of its own foundations." The substance of philosophical cogitation is drawn from science, and as it changes so must philosophy. A famous philosopher, realizing that a philosophy is the very self-consciousness of a science, remarked: "Science without philosophy is blind." To these words I humbly add the following: "And philosophy without science is empty."

B · O · O · K · S

SECRETARY WALLACE INTERPRETS THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

WHOSE CONSTITUTION? By Henry A. Wallace. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936. Pp. 336. \$1.75.

Henry Wallace does not presume to be a constitutional lawyer. Yet he writes of the Constitution. His Republican adversaries might describe him as the mouthpiece of the New Deal. Their charges would be founded only on partisan basis. In truth, Wallace is a philosopher. *Whose Constitution?* contains his interpretation of the philosophy upon which the American Constitution was founded.

The philosophy expressed here is squarely, if not always accurately, placed in an historical setting. The "young brain trusters of 1787," Wallace claims, created a union, "to provide for the . . . general welfare." They sought to give the National Government adequate powers to cope with problems of that day. A self-satisfying agriculture, local handicraft industries, and (with apologies) "horse and buggy" transportation required little national concern.

Times change. Wallace does not merely mouth these words. He depicts in realistic and human fashion the vast economic and social changes since 1787. New problems of agriculture, cities, labor, corporate control accompany these changes. Their solution—in the spirit of the founding fathers—requires a clear recognition of change. Today "to provide for . . . the general welfare" the National Government requires greater powers. Wallace's best chapters depict how agriculture, industry, and labor have become of national concern. Their control for the general welfare that Jefferson and his cohorts sought requires national power.

Even Justices Butler and MacReynolds would be impressed by the vigor of Wallace's argument.

"We the people . . . in order to form a more perfect union . . . do . . . establish this Constitution." Wallace naïvely and innocently interprets this to mean the Constitution is the peoples' property. Let laboring peoples are inclined to question this view since May 27, 1935. Farm peoples, likewise, recall the fall of the A.A.A. and wonder. Women and children workers speak their doubts since the Supreme Court invalidated the New York minimum wage law. Others claim the court has ruled the Constitution prevents governmental safeguarding of such natural resources as coal and iron. Hence, Wallace asks, "Whose Constitution?"

Well, what should be done about it? Nowhere, let it be said, does Wallace advocate scotching the Constitution. He does not once suggest curbing the powers of the Supreme Court. He only hints at the possible desirability of even amending the Constitution. His hopes rest on the common-sense interpretation of the Constitution by liberal justices.

The book claims attention because it is written by a Cabinet member in a campaign year. It invites acid criticism of legalistic i-dotters and more reasonable souls who fear the taking of any liberties with the Constitution. It is diffuse, rambling, and lacking in organization throughout. It contains important inaccuracies in historical statement and basic economics. Yet it is inestimably more important than the typical public official's offering to the world of letters. It deserves to be widely read.

JOHN J. CORSON.

GREAT NATURALISTS

GREEN LAURELS: *The Lives and Achievements of the Great Naturalists.*

By Donald Culross Peattie. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936.

Illustrated. Pp. 368. \$3.75.

During the World War the London *Daily Mail* included in the edition distributed among the soldiers in France a brief, sensitive diary of nature in England—quietening remarks on weather, birds, flowers, and the like. Something similar Mr. Peattie collected formerly in *An Almanac for Moderns*, and continues in "A Breath of Outdoors" in the Chicago *Daily News*. Like Thoreau, he is naturalist, poet, and philosopher. Often he alludes shrewdly to current politics and popular notions. His range of sympathy and knowledge, common sense, and imagination makes it easy to bring the reader, however much immersed in city things, back to the basic and living substances of earth, air, and water. The genial charm is sustained throughout *Green Laurels*.

Social historians who wish to be scientific are inclined to dismiss the heroic in man as having no effect on events. A certain mischievousness in nature, however, permits us to take refuge in what a contemporary scientist has written about the lives and achievements of the great naturalists. Mr. Peattie has no fear of heroes. He acknowledges merits as well as faults in such human beings. He does not avoid the larger dramatic ironies in the relations between Réaumur and Buffon, Lamarck and Cuvier, Wilson and Audubon, Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce, Fabre and Pasteur. He discerns the possibility of the epic in the commonplace. Yet he composes little prose lyrics on seeds, warblers, the weevily insect-

world, the French Riviera, the Shenandoah Valley, and Paris. For he perpetually discerns the biota, as he would say—the total life-community of man in general and of the born naturalist in particular. From the opening in the John Crerar Library of Chicago, the book—comfortable to the eye in print and illustration—offers a personal welcome. The host really likes to write about Swammerdam, Leeuwenhoek, Malpighi, Janssen, Linnaeus, Bartram, the Michaux, Say, Rafinesque, and even their wives where we may know about them.

A guest may feel a trifle uneasy when Mr. Peattie traverses the Middle Ages and remarks that at that time the "animals . . . were in the Devil's keeping," or when he lumps Goethe and the romanticists together and sweeps by. The error of finding Wordsworth tender can be forgiven for the sake of the plate depicting iris, taken from the *Herbarius zu Teutsch*. In paintings and in miniatures, did not the twin-flower, the lily-of-the-valley, the wild pansy, or heart's-ease, and the ragged robin of Konrad von Megenberg's *Das Buch der Natur* (1475) appear earlier?

With respect to Goethe, Mr. Peattie in the chapter on the Linnaean age seems unconsciously to paraphrase the erring master's aphorisms on Nature. She "is a whole; she must be approached along every line of investigation at once; she must be viewed as the mother, not the drudge, of man. She is greater than we, and the purely human point of view will not comprehend her." Like Emerson and Thoreau, Mr. Peattie has not only a gift of Orphic utterance but a power over critical pronouncement and phrase. Thus Lamarck formulated "the concept that evolution is possible, is real, is more characteristic of life than motion or breathing." Darwin is boldly declared to be a Lamarckian at heart, and the Weismannians to be unaware of the logical implications of their testimony. He who can say that "no scientist can do without Platonism" adds to the gaiety of nations when he finds Voltaire among the "sensible men who resist the organic concept of life."

E. C. KNOWLTON.

TWO EMINENT POLITICAL LEADERS

GEORGE MCDUFFIE. By Edwin L. Green. Columbia, S. C.: The State Co., 1936. Pp. 262. \$3.00.

LIFE OF ROBERT M. T. HUNTER: *A Study in Sectionalism and Secession*. By Henry Harrison Simms. Richmond, Va.: The William Byrd Press, 1935. Pp. 234. \$3.00.

The final judgment of history as recorded by the dispassionate searcher of the past is prone to set at naught the emotion-ridden opinions of the

contemporaries of any heroic age. And were it not for biographers and historians, eternally curious and moved by an unfathomable zeal, many mighty men, now resting in the silvery shadow of a modest tomb, would not be exhumed to face the questioning stare of another world. But one cannot escape the past; it dons a new garb and is again upon us.

The two men whose biographies are before us were once eminent political leaders in their state and section and even in the nation, but they are scarcely mentioned in the textbooks of American history. Quiet and retiring except when pleading the cause of their section, neither left a legacy of important legislative achievements. Yet during one of the most critical periods, George McDuffie was almost as eloquent, equally as zealous, and hardly less the idol of the people than was that other defender of Jeffersonian agrarianism and states' rights, John C. Calhoun. Active in public life as Congressman, Senator, and Governor, he was a self-made man—an example of how a brilliant man of parts, a native of Georgia and without social prestige or family tradition, might become the peer of the so-called "aristocrats." In 1813 he delivered the valedictory address at South Carolina College, six months later he was admitted to the bar; in 1818 he was chosen to the General Assembly, and in 1820 was a member of Congress. He cultivated the art of oratory with more than the usual success. Less careless in the use of invective than John Randolph of Roanoke, he was at least his equal; and as to the business at hand, he was always industrious and attentive, depending less upon genius than did Calhoun.

Richard M. T. Hunter, unlike McDuffie, had substantial family connections. He followed the Virginia tradition of attendance at the University of Virginia and the law school of Judge Henry St. George Tucker. He entered upon his public career some fifteen years later than McDuffie; the latter died in 1851, while the former lived to become Speaker of the House, a participant, as Senator, in the decisive debates of the fifties, an aspirant for the presidential nomination in 1860, a member of the Confederate Cabinet and Senate, and treasurer of Virginia after the war. He died, an unreconstructed rebel, in 1887. Like McDuffie, he had considerable reputation as an orator, although the passages cited by his biographer as evidence of his "elegance of style" or "rich intellectual flavor" may seem somewhat less than that to modern ears.

Both volumes are concerned mainly with the public careers of their subjects. Unfortunately, few of McDuffie's papers have survived. This gives Professor Green more excuse for long quotations from McDuffie's printed speeches than may be allowed Professor Simms. On the other

hand, one does have a definite if not artistic description of McDuffie's personal appearance; and because this is not done for Hunter, one feels less well acquainted with him. Had Professor Green pictured McDuffie against the background of South Carolina of Nullification and after, a more satisfying understanding of the man would have been gained. Professor Simms has portrayed Hunter upon a background of national politics with such lavish strokes as to obscure the Virginia politician. Hunter's views on the tariff, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, slavery, and states' rights were not original. One would prefer a less cursory explanation of the contest between Hunter and Henry A. Wise in 1860 in Virginia, or the reasons for Hunter's withdrawal from the Confederate Cabinet, or his attitude toward Reconstruction politics. For six years during a very critical period in Virginia's financial affairs, Hunter was state treasurer, but this is barely mentioned.

Both authors write with a full measure of sympathy for their subjects and their cause, and this is well, for those who champion a lost cause, who pit constitutional questions against economic realism, are likely to be misunderstood or forgotten.

R. H. WOODY.

FISHER FOLK OF LOUISIANA

MADAME TOUSSAINT'S WEDDING DAY. By Thad St. Martin. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1936. 281 pp. \$2.00.

An hour and a half in an automobile will take one from New Orleans to a part of Louisiana in which "Cajuns" fish for shrimps, "Sabines" trap muskrats, and the women-folk wear drawers made from flour sacks stamped with the name *Bull Dog* in glaring red letters. It is this section which provides the setting for *Madame Toussaint's Wedding Day*, a charming first novel by a Creole physician who has spent his life mending the broken or diseased bodies of the lively natives who haunt the bayous.

In the course of one day's time the novel covers a variety of the activities of the fisher folk—from their adoration of the Virgin to their madcap fornications. Touched with the naturalistic tradition, the book proceeds in rapid narrative to recount the adventures of Madame Toussaint, a young widow with a plethora of children, who bears a man's part in the trying duties of seining for shrimps—and who, clad in a white Mother Hubbard, spends her wedding night repairing the motor of her boat in company with her new spouse, the husky Jean. The author, confronted by the difficulty of reproducing patois effects in translation, dodges the problem

of conversation very neatly and packs his book chockfull of characters everyone of whom is highly entertaining. There is local color aplenty—with the usual concomitants of folk-lore and song—but the specialty of the book is character portrayal. Madame Toussaint herself is, of course, the chief personage—and her native delicacy in the midst of masculine occupation is only one of her charms, but the succession of minor characters like the poacher Baudreaux, the strong man with the hernia Larpenteur, the store-keeper with Don Juan habits Brien—these are people of extraordinary qualities excellently portrayed, and with amazingly few strokes of the pen. Dr. St. Martin has a French sense of form and his success in achieving unity in a short novel with such a variety of minor characters is well-nigh astonishing.

There is an abundance of action along with the interesting array of characters, and there is a vast deal of faithful detail concerned with the life and manners of the bayou section. Rarely does one meet among the vast number of regional novels which pour from American presses a work of more delicate charm coupled with trustworthy glimpses of the actual life of the South. Rarely, too, does one find a book in which absolutely no page is dull—or wasted.

CLARENCE GOHDES.

CONTRIBUTION TO CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

THE FUTURE OF LIBERTY. By George Soule. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1936. Pp. 182. \$2.00.

This volume comprises the substance of the lectures made by the author on the Weil Foundation of the University of North Carolina in 1935. Materials from the *New Republic* and an article, "The New States' Rights," which had appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, have been added. The result is a consistent and vigorous examination of a concept that has been the basis of much contemporary confusion. When such organizations as the Liberty League and the Communist party can agree that liberty is well worth preserving, there must be some uncertainty in terminology. Many another volume in recent months has been concerned with liberty, and it is perhaps not too much to suggest that others may follow. It is a timely topic, and one which deserves wide attention in these times.

The central theme of the author is the simple one that the negative theory of liberty has served its period of usefulness since modern conditions have destroyed the environment which had allowed it to prevail. The opening chapter states the bias of the author. The second seeks a

definition which will avoid the pitfalls of negative liberty and contains an examination, in the pragmatic manner, of the operation of that theory. By the end of the third chapter, the author arrives at the view: "Negative liberty, liberty as absence of restraint, is meaningless and self-contradictory, whether for the individual or for society. Such liberty put into action, may eventually destroy equality and negate democracy."

An examination of American history shows the manner in which the concept of liberty has operated, first, in the cause of the revolt against Britain; second, in the domination of the slave interests which led to the conflict with Northern industrialists; the latter now face a conflict with labor interests. Both of these are seeking liberty, and both cannot have it. There are highly interesting chapters on Liberty League liberty and Industrial liberty. These are followed by a penetrating criticism of the recent movement for states' rights, and a careful, but unfavorable, survey of the proposals for a regulated capitalism.

The inquiry leads the author to the conclusion that "The desire of the majority of the people for the kind of liberty that goes with security and abundance" cannot "be embodied either in a system of laissez-faire or in a system of regulated capitalism." "The only other general type of possibility besides automatically regulated capitalism and state-regulated capitalism is collectivism or socialism of some kind." The remainder of the book is devoted both to a short exposition of this view and an anticipatory reply to his critics.

The future of liberty is: (1) freedom for the owners of the instruments of production; (2) freedom for the workers; (3) the appearance of a social purpose which reasonably combines the interests of all into an embracing social end. The first two are exclusive one of the other and indicates the loss of liberty for some. The last embraces the first two and signifies forfeiture of extreme demands in the light of reason and social purpose. With democratic control a larger degree of liberty and equality will thereby be made to prevail.

Mr. Soule has shown in his earlier volumes a capacity for lucid writing and critical analysis. This ability is maintained in the present book. His analysis of certain aspects of contemporary conflicts is keen and accurate in the opinion of the reviewer, whatever the view one may take as to his interpretation of American history. He argues persuasively his point of view, and while a longer and more detailed elaboration of the new organization which he proposes would be welcome, he has made a contribution to contemporary thought that should not be ignored.

CHARLES B. HAGAN.

A NOTABLE HISTORY

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, 1558-1603. By J. B. Black. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936. Pp. ix, 448. \$5.00.

ENGLAND, 1870-1914. By R. C. K. Ensor. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936. Pp. xxiii, 634. \$6.00.

These two volumes are the second and third to appear in a series to be published at the Clarendon Press called *The Oxford History of England*. The first volume published in the series was by Professor G. N. Clark, its general editor, on *The Later Stuarts*. If the standard set by these three volumes is maintained, the fourteen when completed will constitute the most satisfactory narrative extant of the history of England from the earliest times to 1914. The general aim of the series may be inferred from a statement in the preface to Professor Black's volume; namely, "to consider, so far as the space allows, all aspects of the reign of Elizabeth, giving more emphasis than usual to social and cultural as distinct from political affairs." The execution of this plan brought the author to face the perennial difficulty of writers who try to combine in a single synthesis the manifold aspects of the life of a modern people. Do "social and cultural" events have an essential relation with those usually described as "political"?

Professor Black abandoned as impracticable the ideal of carrying "forward the whole burden of fact from year to year," explaining that it would have involved "himself and his readers in confusion." Feeling that a merely "topical" arrangement would make his narrative "disjointed," he adopted "a working compromise between these two opposite methods." Instead of relegating "non-political questions" to the end of the book as "addenda," he inserts them "in the central portion of the volume, side by side with discussions of the catholic and puritan problems and of the constitution." First "come four chapters dealing with the Religious Settlement, England and France, Mary Stuart and the Succession, and the critical years 1568-75 . . . in approximately chronological order." Then follow four chapters with little regard to chronological order which are "specialized studies of the catholic and puritan challenges to the establishment, of the working constitution, and of the economic, social, literary, artistic, scientific, and cultural features of the age." The next three chapters treat in turn Elizabeth and the Netherlands, 1575-86; the Execution of Mary Stuart; the Spanish Armada; the Last Years of the Reign. The Irish Problem takes the place at the end of the book usually allotted to social and cultural facts. Though the political narrative is thus roughly chronological, a reader is left to his own devices if he wishes an arrange-

ment in that sequence of events classified in other categories. Furthermore, it is plausible to argue that the transference of the non-political topics from the end to the middle of the book adds to rather than helps the difficulties of a reader. Professor Clark placed chapters on these subjects in his volume both at the beginning and at the end of the book, which at least suggests that there may have been changes in the period of which he wrote.

Facing a more complicated problem, Mr. Ensor brings more courage to its solution. He feels that the political history of the forty-four years assigned to him falls "pretty sharply and obviously into three more or less equal" periods. The first extends from 1870 to the resignation of Gladstone's third cabinet in 1886; the second, from thence to the death of Victoria; the third, from that time to the outbreak of the World War. The method of the author is to narrate in turn the political history of these several periods, placing after each political narrative a chapter on Economics and Institutions and one on Mental and Social Aspects. A reader thus gets the impression that economic and social changes were related at least in time to changes in administrations and foreign affairs. Mr. Ensor's is, therefore, in some respects the most successful venture that has thus far appeared in the series. He writes with unusual insight concerning the revolutionary changes in English society which came in that half-century: the education of the lower classes and their rise to power; the adaptations of political mechanisms thus made necessary; the influence on England and the British Empire of the rise of other nations; the transition from a time when Britain was easily the dominant political and commercial power in the world to one in which that dominion was challenged. The author perceives many of the implications of these changes and faces them honestly, though many will disagree with some of his conclusions. In treating the outbreak of the World War he emphasizes less the immediate diplomatic interchanges and more antecedent policies and preparations thereby attributing more blame to German rulers than it has lately been the fashion to allow. The narrative seems to be tolerantly fair, though the author is clearly sympathetic with a Liberal point of view. Its most objectionable feature is the frequent use of first person plural pronouns, habitual with some of the better English writers on history.

One who reads Mr. Ensor's volume after that of Professor Black notes a contrast in the spirit of the times analogous to that between adolescent youth and age. The period of Elizabeth was full of danger, but also of exuberance and hope. The great achievements still seemed to lie ahead. The changing society described by Mr. Ensor appears to be somewhat past the meridian of its life if not perceptibly in decline. Its battles are de-

fensive, its conquests in the past. Perhaps it is not the impression he meant to leave. At any rate, his volume is the best summary treatment of the history of England in the period by a single hand.

W. T. LAPRADE.

THE LAW AND THE PRESS

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS, 1695-1763. By Lawrence Hanson. New York: Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1936. Pp. ix, 146. \$7.50.

This slender but expensive monograph contains useful information on subjects concerning which historians need a greater fund of knowledge. The initial date marks the expiration of the Licensing Act. The author explains that the final year marked the publication of the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton*. In this period the political weekly passed the meridian of its influence in England; in it the daily originated and acquired functions which it has performed ever since. The England after the beginning of the eighteenth century was a different country from that in previous centuries and has possibilities for the student of history beyond those any country had prior to that date because of the preservation of these weekly and daily purveyors of news and comment which were a part of the social fabric of the time in which they first appeared.

But the functions of the newspaper press have changed somewhat in passing time, and laws regulating the press have changed also. The three chapters in this study seem to have been planned and arranged more according to the logic of circumstances to-day than with reference to the time with which they deal. The first chapter treats of the Law; the second, of its Administration; the third, which is longer than either of the others, of the Government Press. The necessity of including the last chapter might well have suggested to the author an inquiry whether the law regulating the press and its administration and the government press were not in the first half of the eighteenth century different aspects of the same subject. That is to say, opponents of men in power attacked them periodically in print. As far as they dared ministers of the day suppressed and restricted these publications of their rivals. Unable wholly to suppress this hostile publication, they inspired and subsidized journals in their own behalf. The laws were made and administered for the purpose of suppressing and hindering the publications of men out of office and did not apply to journals sponsored by men in place. An attempt to describe the law and its administration apart from the political controversy of which it was a part

is too academic to reach the roots of the subject with which this study attempts to deal. Nevertheless it contains many facts not readily available elsewhere.

W. T. LAPRADE.

A LIFE OF RALEGH

SIR WALTER RALEGH, LAST OF THE ELIZABETHANS. By Edward Thompson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Pp. ix, 416. \$4.00.

Mr. Thompson's well-written, handsomely printed book is manifestly a labor of love. For him as for James Howell Raleigh is "That rare and renowned knight, whose fame shall contend in longevity with the island itself." He does not think that historians have done his hero justice. Therefore he has searched for information and has told the story again sympathetically, not omitting faults, but giving Raleigh's side, seeking to explain how a man who excelled his contemporaries in talents and early found favor with the Queen was somehow circumvented at almost every turn and finally brought to the scaffold. The plausible explanations, taken severally, give an impression of truth until the reader discovers that in order thus to depict his hero it is necessary for the author to discredit in some measure most of the other important figures in the time: Elizabeth, James, the Cecils, Walsingham, Essex, Buckingham, Gondomar. Perhaps that was the way of life in a world full of rivals jealous of a man they feared and were ever unable to outshine. At any rate, for readers interested in Raleigh, Mr. Thompson has provided an attractive book.

W. T. LAPRADE.

AIR TRANSPORTATION IN EUROPE

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION IN EUROPEAN AIR TRANSPORT. By Laurence C. Tombs. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xii, 222. \$3.00.

This is a study of official and private organizations regulating European air transport. As a member of the Communications and Transit Section of the League of Nations, the author enjoys greater intimacy with the problems involved than is ordinarily an author's good fortune. He makes a clear presentation of the administrative problems and machinery of air transport. The organization and jurisdiction of these various agencies are explained. The causes and nature of their increasing interrelations and co-operation are set forth. The chapters upon the "Basis of

Public Air Law" and "The International Commission for Air Navigation" are especially good, not only because the author ably discusses the provisions of the Convention of 1919 and the International Commission set up by the convention, but also because attention is given to the problems arising from the execution thereof.

Other chapters deal with the problems involved in the establishment of private international law upon the subject and the various technical organizations that have been established.

It is regrettable that little attention is given to the political implications of civil aviation. However, such consideration is clearly beyond the purpose of the book. The first chapter forcefully, though briefly, shows how military considerations hinder the development of international air navigation. Because of the ease with which civil aviation may be turned to military advantage, governments not only "clip the wings" of foreign craft, but grant subsidies to national companies in order to maintain services which have no economic justification. In view of the compelling military and hence nationalistic considerations, one is struck by the fact that it is possible to have as much international organization as exists.

W. M. GIBSON.

AMERICAN EXPANSION

EXPANSIONISTS OF 1898: *The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands*. By Julius W. Pratt. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. Pp. viii, 393. \$3.00.

This is the twentieth volume of the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History. Professor Pratt, whose writings are already well known, advisedly perhaps lays the cornerstone for the study of the relations of the United States with its colonial empire. By showing the rise and development of a movement for overseas expansion, analyzing its ideological background, and the attempts of past administrations to get a foothold on the Caribbean, the way is paved to introduce the reader to the annexation of Hawaii and the acquisition of the Spanish possessions following the War of 1898.

Undoubtedly the Hawaiian question has been given too much space in a book on this topic when it is remembered that Hawaii was neither the largest nor the most important acquisition. But the author justifies his position in "the lack, hitherto, of any adequate treatment" and because "the proposal to annex Hawaii focused public opinion for the first time upon the issues involved in the expansionist policy."

Expansionists and Imperialists have always been an interesting class among our statesmen and politicians. Studies dealing with them as individuals or as a group are bound to be revealing. The doctrine of manifest destiny is still alive and significant in spite of recent pronouncements and developments.

Sixteen pages of a well-balanced bibliography and a good index complete this scholarly volume which will be read with enjoyment by all those interested in our diplomatic history and in our overseas possessions.

R. O. RIVERA.

LIFE OF A FRENCH PHILOSOPHER

PASCAL: *The Life of Genius*. By Morris Bishop. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., 1936. Pp. xi, 398. \$3.50.

We have here a sympathetic and eloquent interpretation of one of the world's most scintillating personalities. Famous as a physicist and mathematician, Blaise Pascal, although born in 1623, had a mind which would be considered modern in our days. He exercised a deep and everlasting influence on literature and philosophy, as well as on the sciences.

Mr. Bishop is an exceedingly able biographer, whose prose is easy to read. In Europe and America he collected an immense amount of information which he has digested and arranged with great taste and presented to us in charming form.

R. O. RIVERA.

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